POLITICAL PARTIES AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: MOBILIZING AND REPRESENTING CIVIL SOCIETY

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POLITICAL PARTIES AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: MOBILIZING AND REPRESENTING CIVIL SOCIETY

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Most political parties that emerged in Europe since 1945 have roots in social movements, but unlike older mainstream parties with movement origins they did not adopt an electoral-professional party model focused on pursuing the median voter. Neither have they retained their organizational connections to movements, thus foregoing both the advantages of a "catch-all" platform and access to the mobilizing capacity of movement organizations. Why? I employ a multi-method design combining the analysis of voters and movement party success with original data from fieldwork in Sweden and Germany on four movements and the Green and Pirate parties they spawned. I find that movements are incentivized to be organizationally distinct from parties in order to maximize their public support and influence on government policy. Parties cannot, however, break with their movement origins programmatically, because they exist in saturated party systems and rely on issue voters who are disappointed with the dominant mainstream party models. In that environment social movement organizations are empowered vis-à-vis the parties they spawned and able to influence parties' platforms through four distinct mechanisms. In that way social movements, together with the parties they spawn, counterbalance the trend towards catch-all and cartel parties and thereby (re-)integrate disaffected citizens into the democratic process.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Steffen Blings received a Ph.D. from the Department of Government at Cornell University in 2017 (M.A. 2013). At Cornell his research centered on the intersection of movement and party politics. During his fieldwork he was a visiting scholar at the Institute for Future Studies in Stockholm, Sweden and at Goethe University in Frankfurt, Germany. Before coming to Cornell he received a B.A. and M.A. in Political Science from the University of Bremen, Germany and studied sociology at the University of Groningen, Netherlands.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

On October 3rd, 2014 Stefan Löfven, Sweden's then newly elected prime minister, presented his cabinet (Grönberg 2014), which included not only members of his own Social Democratic Party, but for the first time in the country's history also ministers from the Green Party. Even though both parties have deep roots in social movements their paths to sharing power in this coalition government have been quite different.

For Sweden's Social Democrats governing is almost the default position, since they have received the largest share of the vote in every election since 1917 (Arter 1999, p. 71). When the Swedish labor movement gave rise to the party in 1889 it "was a loose umbrella organization for trade unions, political organizations, and health and burial funds" (Molin 1992, p. xviii). The Social Democratic Party (Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti, SAP) sent its first member to parliament in 1896 (Haberman 1972), and focused mainly on gaining universal suffrage and an eight-hour workday (Molin 1992, p. xviii). Once universal suffrage was achieved the party adopted increasingly broader appeals after 1929, when the SAP "gathered its forces around a program aimed at practical reforms within the framework of a capitalist society" and committed to "policies not only aimed at the workers, but designed to include the entire population" (Molin 1992, p. xxii). After having loosened its programmatic link to the labor movement from which it originated, the Social Democratic Party soared to new electoral heights, gaining 45.9% of the vote in 1936 (Hamilton 1989, p. 174). Later the SAP also began to reduce its organizational connections to the unions. The system of collective membership between the Social Democrats and Sweden's

main union organization, Landsorganisationen i Sverige (LO), was abolished in 1987, leading to a sharp drop in party membership (Aylott 2001, Gidlund 1992). In spite of decreasing electoral results, the Social Democrats continued to be the dominant party in Swedish politics for the remainder of the 20th century.

The SAP's evolution from a loose coalition rooted in a movement to a modern party with broad electoral appeals stands in stark contrast to their current partners in government, the Green Party (Miljöpartiet de Gröna). Like the Social Democrats, the Greens started deeply rooted in a social movement. The party was founded as a reaction to the 1980 referendum on nuclear energy in which the most anti-nuclear energy alternative gained almost 40% of the vote, but was defeated by a compromise option. As a result, anti-nuclear and environmental movement leaders hoped that there was electoral potential for a party that took up the issue and Miljöpartiet was founded in 1981 (Bennulf & Holmberg 1990, p. 167). Taking the issue to the ballot box, however, was rewarded with much less electoral success than the labor movement's entry into electoral politics. It took the Greens until 1988 to enter parliament, only to lose representation again in 1991. Since then the party has returned to parliament, but electoral results have only shown a minor upward trend, peaking at 7.3% of the vote in 2010. As opposed to the SAP and despite the tenuous support it enjoyed at the polls, the Green Party has not gone through a process of programmatically delinking itself from the movement. While it has become more amenable to seeing economic growth and environmental protection as compatible (Elander 2000), its focus on environmental issues is not in doubt and it fought, for example, the 2014 national election campaign under the slogan "Policy must be warmer. Not the climate"[1] (Miljöpartiet de Gröna 2014, p. 2). However, the party never had the

[1]Swedish: "Politiken måste bli varmare. Inte klimatet." (Miljöpartiet de Gröna 2014, p. 2)

same formal links to movements that existed between the SAP and the unions and it has become organizationally decoupled from the environmental and anti-nuclear movements through increasing professionalization (Burchell 2001*a*, p. 131) and a consistent separation between movement and party elites (interview 020308[2]).

A Pattern and a Puzzle: Adopting the Movement Platform Party Model

The divergence in development between the Social Democrats and Greens in Sweden described above is illustrative of a broader pattern across Europe. Parties often originate in social movements,[3] but those founded before World War II have evolved in fundamentally different ways than those with movement roots post-1945. The former parties first loosened their programmatic and then their organizational links to the movements that gave rise to them. Thus they exemplify the well-established development of (mainly Social Democratic) movement parties with strong organizational and programmatic links to (labour) movements towards electoral-professional, catch-all parties (Kirchheimer 1966, Panebianco 1988, Przeworski & Sprague 1986) that largely lack these movement links and pursue median voter-focused strategies (Downs 1957). Since 1945, however, parties with movement roots have retained their programmatic links to movements, while shedding organizational links early in their development. That is, instead of evolving to an electoral-professional party model, they have adopted what I define as a "movement

[2]See chapter 3 and appendix B for more details on the interview data.

[3]The notable exception are older, liberal and conservative parties originating from elite networks inside the political system. See Shefter (1994) on internally and externally mobilized parties; cf. also Katz & Mair (1995).

platform party" model, in which a party continues to stress the policy demands of the movement from which it originated, but retains only weak organizational connections to that movement.

Figure 1.1: Linkages between Political Parties and Social Movements: Pre-World War II Movement Parties

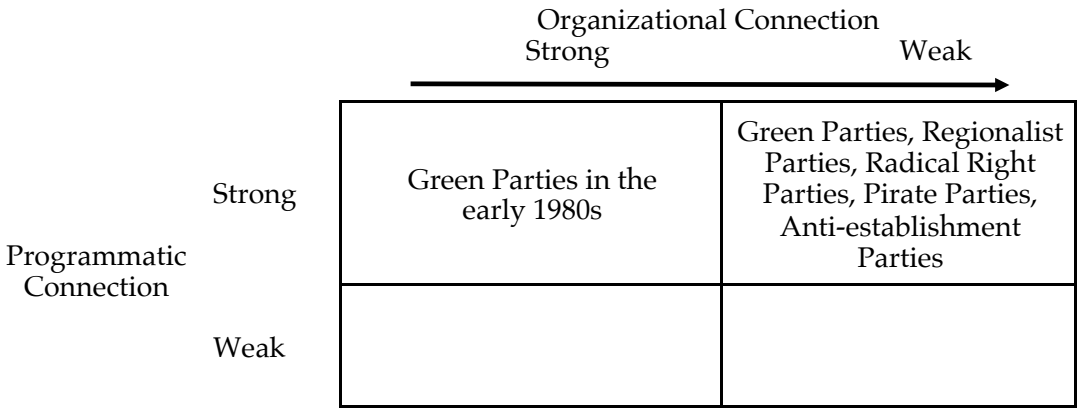
Figures 1.1 and 1.2 illustrate the different evolution of pre- and post-World War II movement parties. Figure 1.1 shows that movement parties with pre-World War II origins, i.e. Social and Christian Democratic parties (Bartolini 2000, Kalyvas 1996), started out with tight organizational connections to the movement from which they originated. They additionally represented the movements' policy demands in their platforms and the electoral arena, i.e. had a programmatic connection to the movements.[4] These parties then proceeded to first shed their programmatic commitments to movement goals (along the solid arrow from top-left to the bottom-left cell), strongly broadening their electoral appeal and success, before in a second, later phase of their development, abolishing their organizational links to movements (along the dashed arrow from

[4]I define movement parties by these two characteristics, i.e., by originating from a social movement with both organizational and programmatic connections to that movement. For detailed definitions of all central terms see chapter 2.

the bottom-left to the bottom-right cell).

Parties with movement roots after World War II have mainly included Green, regionalist, radical right, Pirate, and the recent anti-establishment parties in the European South. Those parties evolved differently than their Social and Christian Democratic predecessors as illustrated in figure 1.2. They did shed their organizational connection to social movements early in their development (along the arrow from the top-left to the top-right cell), but have retained their programmatic links to movements.[5]

Figure 1.2: Linkages between Political Parties and Social Movements: Post-World War II Movement Parties



Thus movement parties with origins in the 19th century developed into the electoral-professional parties (Panebianco 1988) that dominate the contemporary European party systems. Since the Second World War, however, movement parties have adopted a model under which they are organizationally disconnected from the movements, but maintain strong programmatic ties to them – a movement platform party model. Few of these movement platform parties

[5]See chapter 3 for details on the development of the different movement party families.

have become large parties on a national level, and until the recent surge of anti-establishment parties in Southern Europe, none had joined the party system as a central player. Why did these parties diverge from the established pattern of party development that had brought earlier movement parties unprecedented success and established them as the main center-left and center-right parties in their respective party systems?

The decision of these movement parties to manage their relationship with the movement from which they originated by adopting the movement platform party model is puzzling. In doing so, European parties with movement roots seem to have chosen the worst of two worlds. First, by organizationally detaching themselves from the movements, these parties largely forgo the considerable benefits of mobilizing voters through social movement organizations (SMOs). The anti-nuclear movement in Germany, for instance, managed to turn out an estimated 170000 protesters within the first four days after the nuclear disaster in Fukushima (Knight 2011), decades after the supposed peak of the movement's mobilization. The ability to tap into these mobilizing structures would provide a political party with an enormous advantage in terms of getting out the vote. Second, instead of making use of the strategic (programmatic) flexibility they have presumably gained through organizational decoupling by diluting programmatic appeals and adopting a catch-all strategy, reaping the electoral benefits of attracting a broader electorate located around the median voter, these parties remain committed to their respective movements' core issues. The interview data presented in chapter 3, for instance, show that the German Green Party still goes to great lengths to ensure that its policy decisions are acceptable to a majority of environmental movement organizations.[6] Why

[6]For example, interview 010406 with Naturschutzbund Deutschland (Nature and Biodiversity Conservation Union).

do these parties not either push for closer cooperation with the movements (i.e. shift back towards the ideal-typical movement party) or completely sever their ties and reap the electoral benefits of the professional-electoral model without organizational or programmatic connections to social movements?[7]

Existing Explanatory Approaches

The continued existence of movement platform parties is puzzling for much of social science theory, which expects new (movement) parties to either moderate their programmatic zeal or maintain tight organizational links to movements. I argue that much of its difficulty in accounting for that outcome is due to the lack of systematic attention that is paid to the influence of civil society on institutionalized politics in general, and in this case to how the strategic constraints of the electoral market empower movements vis-á-vis parties in particular.

Much of the literature on party origins and evolution relies on a rationalist approach that focuses on the incentives of office as well as benefit seekers to construct effective vehicles to further their interests (Aldrich 2011). As such these theories highlight party elites' interests and lose sight of movement parties' bottom-up origins and strong roots in civil society. Work in this tradition could make sense of the organizational separation between movements and the parties they spawn, which increases party elites' political flexibility, but not of the parties' continued programmatic links to movements. Office seekers by definition, and benefit seekers because they can only realize their benefits through the spoils of office, should be focused on achieving stable and continued gov-

[7]This does not exhaust the options movement platform parties have to change their setup, but represents the most obviously appealing alternatives.

ernment participation. The likelihood of governing, however, is not maximized by linking a party to relatively narrow interests (like the protection of the environment or digital privacy), mobilized by movement activists outside the institutionalized political system. Furthermore, as I will demonstrate in chapter 4, even the organizational separation is not, as these rationalist approaches would expect, driven by the preference of party elites for flexibility, but rather the result of decision making inside the movement and associated SMOs.

Moreover, many conventional approaches continue to view movement parties through theoretical lenses designed to analyze the historical development of Social Democratic parties from movement to mainstream, electoral-professional parties. They build on the classical insights of Michels (1915) about parties' internal dynamics to centralize power with elites, as well as research demonstrating how Social Democrats' decision to dilute their programmatic appeals in order to win allies outside the working class set them on a path to continued programmatic moderation (Przeworski & Sprague 1986). In doing so, these approaches do not have an explanation for why newer movement parties have avoided this evolution away from the movements' programmatic demands, despite the lack of organizational movement connections.

Finally, the literature on niche parties[8] (Meguid 2005) has provided analysis of many of the parties studied in this project, including Green, regionalist, and radical right parties. Similar to the rational approaches to party evolution, however, the movement roots of many of these parties have received no systematic attention, even though these roots continue to shape niche parties in fundamental ways. Moreover, the niche party literature cannot explain

[8]While some parties are both movement platform and niche parties these are by no means identical concepts and there are parties that are niche, but not movement platform parties and vice versa. See chapter 2 for a detailed discussion and definitions of these concepts.

why niche parties, when exogenous shocks allow them them to escape their niche party status, do not make the transition to programmatically less-focused electoral-professional parties. Why, for instance why do new challenger parties like Podemos profit from the decline of center-left parties in the aftermath of the sovereign debt crisis, instead of the long-established center-left Green parties? As this project will demonstrate below, the answer as to why (Green) movement platform parties are not able to make the necessary transformations towards an electoral-professional model, even in moments of great opportunity, is found in the strategic behavior of social movements that locks movement platform parties into their policy links to these movements.

Overview of the Argument: Movement Parties, Social Movement Organizations, and Saturated Electoral Markets

I argue that the explanation for why modern movement parties neither moderate their programmatic zeal nor remain organizationally linked to movements, but instead turned to the movement platform party model, lies in the joint incentive structures faced by movement parties and their "affiliated" social movements. Loosening organizational ties allows movement organizations to retain their full mobilizational potential and influence on policies independent of government composition. The small parties originating in these movements do not have the resources, however, to make SMOs change their behavior. Yet, they also cannot break with their movement origins programmatically because they rely on voters who are disappointed with the dominant electoral-professional party models and who demand concrete programmatic linkages in specific is-

sues areas from the party they support. That is, given the saturation of the electoral market on the established left-right dimension by electoral-professional parties, movement parties (need to) continue competing on a different programmatic dimension than the economically focused mainstream parties to win these issue voters.[9] Even in a time of growing partisan dealignment, movement platform parties would endanger their electoral survival by moving to a catch-all strategy because they would risk losing the vast majority of their core electorate much more quickly than they would be able to attract new voters. This situation is largely due to the parties' movement roots as they exist in an environment in which movement organizations have both the incentives and means to monitor party behavior from the electoral sidelines and inform issue voters about their evaluations. Since a negative performance review from movement organizations could lead to a massive loss of core supporters, these organizations can exert enormous influence on movement platform parties and party elites will continue to take cues from social movement organizations and focus on their parties' core issues. Thus, in this environment leaders of movement parties are strongly incentivized to turn to the movement platform party model that retains programmatic linkages and a core, if niche electorate.

The Importance of Party-Movement Interactions

Demonstrating the important consequences of interactions between social movements and political parties contributes to closing the long existing gap between these two areas of inquiry and highlights the value of systematically link-

[9] Alternatively movements and the parties they spawn can repoliticize economic competition and advocate for positions closer to the left pole on that dimension, as recent developments in Southern Europe illustrate. I will discuss this possibility in more detail in chapter 7.

ing institutionalized and non-institutionalized forms of political participation (McAdam & Tarrow 2010, McAdam & Tarrow 2013). Existing work in this vein, mainly focused on state-movement relationships, has identified significant effects of movement activity on institutionalized politics ranging from their influence on public policy (see e.g., McAdam & Su (2002)) to the influence of movements as channels of representation more generally (Johnston 2011). Movements are thus influential political actors, but their impact on party politics remains understudied. This is particularly puzzling considering the plethora of both historical and contemporary connections between them.[10] These party-movement interactions influence the political development of European countries in at least three distinct ways:

1. Parties considered "fringe" when they emerged have, in conjunction with social movements, shaped politics in important ways in the past. Examples range from historical cases like the Italian fascist party gaining power with the help of the movement it originated in (Morgan 2004) to the Green and right-wing populist parties, which together with the movements around them established a new axis of competition in European party systems (Häusermann & Kriesi 2015).

2. In the context of growing electoral dealignment (Hernández & Kriesi 2016) smaller and new parties with movement roots have opportunities to grow and turn into major players by winning over former mainstream party supporters. In the aftermath of the sovereign debt crisis the relevance of these parties has increased even further, as evidenced by the rise of new, leftist movement parties, like Podemos and Syriza, in Southern Europe and the re-

[10]Research in the U.S. context has produced some studies in this vein on both historical (Redding 1992) and contemporary (Heaney & Rojas 2015) party-movement relations.

cent Austrian presidential elections in which the two candidates in the run-off represented a Green and a radical right party.[11]

3. Even with moderate parliamentary representation, movement platform parties have become important players in Europe due to the predominance of coalition governments. Movement platform parties often hold the balance of power and significantly influence policies either as coalition partner or by providing minority governments with the necessary support (e.g., Bale & Bergman (2006)).

Thus because movement platform parties are important actors in contemporary politics it is central to understand the structures of these parties, the policies they implement when in government, and how they reshaped the makeup of contemporary party systems in Europe.

Additionally, the project contributes to a better understanding of how developments in contemporary movement activism might influence future parties that arise from social movements. By focusing on the movement platform party type, the dissertation highlights an ideal type that is likely to gain in importance, as many recent parties with roots in social movements have been founded as movement platform rather than ideal-typical movement parties. Internet activism has made it possible for contentious collective action to occur and even to lead to the formation of political parties without the existence of mediating movement organizations with which a party could establish organizational links (Bennett & Segerberg 2012, Bennett & Segerberg 2013).[12] The Swedish Pi-

[11]The candidate connected to the Austrian Greens ran as an independent, but was supported by the Green Party and had been its leader for more than a decade.

[12]There remains a debate about how dramatically modern communication technology has changed the means available for overcoming collective action problems. Tilly & Wood (2013, pp. 107-108) remind us that at a minimum the effects of technological changes are not deterministic and are always mediated by their context. Furthermore they argue that while technology lowers

rate Party, focused on issues like copyright law and information-related issues more generally, serves as a prime example of a political party that is rooted in a social movement and represents its programmatic concerns, but from its inception only had weak organizational links to the movement. Movement organizations focusing on these issues are largely absent in the Swedish context and the Pirate Bureau from which the party took its name and much of its framing, though not its elites, had vanished by 2010. But beyond Pirate parties, the internet has also been used as a tool to organize political activity and a party in the recent anti-establishment movements in Southern Europe. Turner (2013), for instance, shows how the Italian Movimento 5 Stelle (Five Star Movement) party was built using online tools. Thus, because of their increased relevance, parties with strong programmatic connections to one or more social movements, but lacking organizational links, deserve more scientific attention.[13]

Besides shedding light on a variety of important empirical phenomena and outcomes, like the nature of partisan competition and future of party organization, this dissertation also contributes to theory development in the social sciences by highlighting the important and often overlooked role of civil society actors in shaping institutionalized politics. Through "bringing civil society back in" this project takes the bottom-up origins of movement parties seriously and contributes a systematic analysis of the dilemma inherent in the movement party type. On one hand these parties have incentives to move away from their

the costs of action for one group, it also excludes those without access to the specific technology from collective action (Tilly & Wood 2013). The latter fact might go a long way to explain the Pirate Parties' reliance on young voters (Eisel 2012, p. 3).

[13]Arguably even the earlier 20th century movement parties in Europe never developed organizational connections to the movements they originated in that were as strong as those of Socialist Parties in the 19th century (Kitschelt 2003, Kitschelt 1989). Thus they were already partially on their way from ideal-typical movement to movement platform parties during their early years.

movement in order to broaden their electoral appeal,[14] while on the other hand they remain strongly tied to the movement due to the ever-present threat of losing their core support. One central reason as to why modern movement parties have managed this dilemma by evolving into the movement platform party model lies in the more powerful position of social movements vis-à-vis the parties they spawned after the Second World War. Accordingly, this study sheds light on the development of parties with movement roots in less tumultuous times than the time period in which Social Democratic parties matured, which included World Wars I and II, as well as the Great Depression. Illuminating how movement demands and activists are incorporated into the political systems of Western Europe since 1945 thus provides insights in how these processes develop in stable liberal democracies.

In sum, we can only understand the development of these parties by explicitly acknowledging the agency of movement organizations and theorizing the strategic interaction between social movements and political parties. As this dissertation will demonstrate, even though movement platform parties have shed their organizational links to social movements they remain fundamentally shaped by the strategic decisions these movements make. This influence is particularly important with respect to the parties' policy platforms, behavior in government, and electoral strategies. Thus, social movements, through their influence on movement platform parties, shape institutionalized politics, including the parliamentary arena, to a considerable degree. Moreover while movement platform parties, due to their movement roots, are in many ways a most likely cases for being shaped by civil society actors, the results of this

[14]This does not presuppose office- or vote-seeking goals (Müller & Strøm 1999). Even if the party is completely policy-driven it still requires electoral success to meet policy goals. Electoral success is a necessary condition to achieve government participation or force competing parties to adopt some movement demands in order to limit the appeal of the movement party.

project also indicate that the influence of social movements extends far beyond movement platform parties. Accordingly research programs and theorizing in social science theory would profit from more consistently linking movements in particular, and civil society in general, to institutionalized politics.[15]

The argument developed here also has strong normative implications with respect to the quality of representation in advanced industrialized democracies. Mainstream parties have retreated from civil society, weakening the links between citizens and their governments (Katz & Mair 1995, pp. 8-15). I argue that movement platform parties provide a partial democratizing antidote to this trend because they offer concrete programmatic linkages sought by certain groups of citizens, i.e., they broaden representation by appealing to voters who care deeply about issues that the mainstream parties largely ignore. Through these linkages they (re)integrate citizens into the democratic process who are disaffected with representative democracy or did not have a "political home."[16] That is, movement parties bring these voters, who range from strong proponents of Scottish independence championed by the Scottish National Party to those in the new middle class (della Porta & Diani 2006, p. 55) represented through Green Parties, into the democratic process.

Two qualifications with respect to this democratizing effect are in order. First, movement parties on the radical right, like the Front National in France (Goodliffe 2011), do integrate some citizens, but also pursue the goal of limiting participation and access to the state for other groups of citizens. Second, it is possible that pacifying the previously disaffected voters and integrating

[15]See chapter 4 and 6 for details on how movements shape the party model and policy platforms of parties, as well as chapter 7 for a discussion of how this influence extends beyond movement platform parties.

[16]On the increasing disaffection with contemporary democracies see Dalton (2008, pp. 241-258).

them into the electoral process takes the energy out of more contentious forms of political participation, which might have accomplished more fundamental changes in how modern democracies are organized. Thus, these parties might serve as a kind of safety valve, but not always a productive one when more fundamental changes are required in society.

Dissertation Outline

The following chapter presents the theoretical framework sketched above by introducing the literature on party-movement interactions in general and relevant ideas regarding the linkages between the two kinds of actors in particular. In the process it provides definitions of central concepts. The chapter also introduces the alternative explanations summarized above in more detail, before presenting the theoretical approach of this dissertation and discussing how it improves on existing approaches.

The third chapter discusses the case selection and data collection for this project, before providing a short overview of Social and Christian Democratic movement parties' evolution from movement to electoral-professional parties. The chapter continues by contrasting that evolution with the development of the four parties and social movements studied in detail in this project. Case studies introduce the Swedish and German Green and Pirate parties, as well as the environmental and digital movements[17] in those countries. Drawing on party and movement elite interviews conducted during fieldwork in Sweden

[17] I use the term "digital movement" to denote organizations and activists focusing on issues of copyright reform, the protection of privacy, and generally information-related issues. This movement makes extensive use of electronic means of communication. Thus, the term reflects both the content and the most prominent form of activism.

and Germany in 2013-2014, an original survey of Swedish Green party members, and data from participant observation of party conferences and political events as well as primary and secondary sources, the chapter traces the development of these parties and movements. Specifically, it demonstrates that the Green parties and environmental movements are only loosely connected organizationally, but they retain strong programmatic ties. Thus the chapter demonstrates that Green parties developed from movement to movement platform parties. The Pirate parties, however, while clearly rooted in a social movement, corresponded more closely to the movement platform party ideal type from the beginning, as they never developed strong organizational connections to the movements that spawned them in the first place. Drawing on secondary sources and expert survey data on a wider range of parties, the chapter also demonstrates that the development of movement parties towards the movement platform party model can be generalized to Green, Pirate, regionalist, and radical right parties across the continent.

The remainder of the dissertation is structured along the two dimensions that (can) link social movements to political parties. The fourth chapter focuses on the organizational connections between social movements and the parties that emerged from them. It investigates why movement organizations and "associated" parties are organizationally separate despite the potential mobilization benefits for parties and coordinating benefits for movements. Drawing on material collected during fieldwork, the chapter first highlights the motivations of movement leaders and demonstrates that they keep their organizations distant from any political party in order to be able to mobilize citizens beyond those sympathetic to one political party and to retain their influence on governments independent of partisan political composition. SMO leaders are also

skeptical about parties as vehicles for policy change more generally. Party elites are incentivized to accept this status quo partially because they are not in a position to make movement organizations change their behavior and partially because they expect a strategic sharing of tasks between parties and movements to be beneficial. Organizational demands further contribute to the organizational separation of parties and movements.

The following two chapters center on the programmatic connection between movements and movement platform parties and explore why and how it was retained. The fifth chapter investigates why movement platform parties do not make use of the supposed freedom they gained by organizationally decoupling from movements to pursue a broader electorate. The chapter shows that the electoral success of movement platform parties is strongly tied to their programmatic connection to movement demands, because pre-existing electoral-professional parties appeal to and bind the majority of voters along the economically dominated left/right spectrum, leaving only voters interested in other programmatic dimensions up for grabs. The chapter provides evidence for this on three different levels. It first employs multilevel complementary log-log models analyzing micro-level data from two waves (1999 and 2009) of the European Election Studies to show that movement parties do rely on voters who value concrete programmatic linkages. In a second step, the chapter uses an original country-level dataset on movement platform party success and policy gains to show that delivering on the programmatic platform positively influences party support, while government participation without policy gains leads to significant electoral losses. Finally, it turns to the meso-level and uses interview data to present evidence that party leaders are sensitive to their core electorates and specifically develop their campaign strategies and platforms accord-

ingly. The interviews also demonstrate that movement organizations strategically make use of movement platform parties' dependence on issue voters to exert pressure on these parties. This pressure pushes parties to remain true to their programmatic core because party elites are acutely aware of SMOs power to inform and influence the parties' core electorate.

The sixth chapter explores in more detail how the programmatic connection is retained in the absence of strong organizational links and direct cooperation. Based on interviews, survey, and further data from fieldwork it identifies the indirect channels through which movements influence movement platform parties: 1) public pressure exerted by SMOs on parties during electoral campaigns, 2) a limited number of grassroots party activists that are also active in movements and bring the latter's demands into the party,[18] 3) movement party elites consciously adopting publicly available movement positions or seeking out the organizations' advice on a case-by-case basis, and 4) think-tanks/political foundations. It also illustrates how a failure of these mechanisms can contribute to the electoral decline of movement platform parties. It does so drawing on case studies of the Swedish and German Pirate Parties, which lost their representation in parliaments when programmatic alignment with the digital movement ceased to be provided through the mechanisms outlined above.

The dissertation concludes with a final chapter, which considers the findings' implications for the nature of and research on party-movement interactions. In the process it highlights the implications for political participation and representation in contemporary democracies. On the one hand, movements and movement platform parties are highly successful in opening up avenues for par-

[18]This is where the more participatory character of many movement platform parties remains relevant.

ticipation for programmatically motivated citizens, whose issues and concerns were not represented previously by existing parties and civil society actors. On the other hand, since a majority of these parties originated in new social movements and have a middle class bias, this development has the potential to further increase the gap between those with the resources to participate and poorer citizens who will increasingly be left behind. The chapter also discusses how the project's findings illuminate and possibly extend to newer parties with movement roots, like Podemos, in the European South, as well as party-movement interactions in other parts of the world. Finally, it provides an overview of questions left open by this dissertation, as well as those that have newly arisen based on the findings presented in this project.

CHAPTER 2

THEORY: MOVEMENT PARTIES, SOCIAL MOVEMENT ORGANIZATIONS, AND SATURATED ELECTORAL MARKETS

Most European political parties that have entered the electoral arena since 1945 have their roots in social movements. As highlighted in the previous chapter, over time these parties have shed their organizational, but not programmatic connections to the movements that spawned them. They did so in spite of the numerous downsides that adopting the movement platform party model entails regarding mobilizing electoral support. This chapter will develop a theoretical account explaining this development and its contrast with earlier movement parties' evolution into electoral-professional parties. The chapter first provides a short summary of the (extremely limited) state of knowledge regarding the interactions of social movements and political parties, before a second section theorizes the connections between movements and parties with movement roots. In a third section, the chapter discusses existing work on political parties with movement origins and shows that these approaches have difficulties explaining the development of contemporary movement parties towards the movement platform party model, because they have lost sight of the influence of civil society actors on party evolution. A fourth section develops a theoretical account explaining the prevalence of the movement platform party model by highlighting the agency and influence of social movements with respect to political parties in saturated electoral markets.

Social Movements and Political Parties

Social movements are "sequences of contentious politics that are based on underlying social networks and resonant collective action frames, [...] which develop the capacity to maintain sustained challenges against powerful opponents" (Tarrow 1998, p. 3). The social networks that these movements are based on are usually deeply rooted in civil society, while political parties act in the institutionalized political arena (and often are among the "powerful opponents" Tarrow (1998) references). I follow Epstein (1980) in defining political parties as "any group, however loosely organized, seeking to elect government officeholders under a given label" (Epstein 1980, p. 9). Drawing on this wide definition of parties is advantageous here, because it includes groups with significant bottom-up influence and civil society links, like movement parties. Definitions that center on elites (e.g., Aldrich (2011)) narrow the focus to an extent that often leads authors to overlook the significant degree to which institutionalized politics are shaped by civil society (see the discussion of Aldrich and rationalist approaches more generally in the section on alternative explanations below).

As highlighted in the introduction, the study of social movements and political parties has long been conducted on separate tracks which rarely intersected (McAdam & Tarrow 2010). This is partially the result of the relatively late emergence of a research agenda on social movements' political outcomes (Amenta, Caren, Chiarello, & Su 2010, p. 289), though studies in the field have recently become more common (Amenta et al. 2010, Walgrave & Vliegenthart 2012). Work in this vein has addressed questions such as under what circumstances movements achieve the outcomes they seek (e.g., Cress & Snow (2000)) and institutionalized political actors are occasionally considered in these studies,

mainly as the addressees of movement action. Scholars have, for instance, investigated under what circumstances protest leads to parliamentary or governmental reactions (Fassiotto & Soule 2017, McAdam & Su 2002, Walgrave & Vliegenthart 2012). Scholars of social movements have only recently studied political parties as important players shaping parliamentary and governmental responses to movement activity with Hutter & Vliegenthart (forthcoming) demonstrating that opposition parties are more likely to respond to street protest than parties in government.

Additionally, on both sides of the Atlantic the relationships between political parties and interest groups have received some attention. In the U.S. context, interest group endorsements in elections have been shown to exert strong effects on how voters, especially those who ideologically break with their preferred party on the issue of an interest group's endorsement, evaluate candidates (Neddenriep & Nownes 2014). Moreover, Koger, Masket, & Noel (2009) have shown that the Democratic and Republican national party organizations are a central part of a liberal and conservative "network of interest groups, media, other advocacy organizations and candidates" (Koger, Masket, & Noel 2009, p. 633), respectively. By contrast interest group relationships with political parties in Europe are characterized by a low level of institutionalization, though, as in the United States, the partisan origins of interest groups play a role in shaping these interactions (Rasmussen & Lindeboom 2013). They are moreover moderated by the institutional context, i.e. these interactions mirror the specific party-political cleavages that dominate a country (Otjes & Rasmussen 2015). These studies shed light on important channels of representation, but a specific focus on social movements is lacking in this literature. While some SMOs have institutionalized into forms similar to traditional interest group organizations,

political contention remains central to how social movements exert their influence (cf. chapter 6 of this study). Moreover, because of this focus on contention, social movements' mobilizing structures often center on mobilizing many people at one specific point in time. That is, movements are in a much better, and for parties more valuable, position to influence election outcomes by mobilizing on election day.

Consistent attention to party-movement interactions has been relatively recent and mostly limited to four lines of research that focus on distinct aspects of these interactions. First, there are case studies of interactions between specific social movements and parties, for instance regarding the tensions inside and between the Irish Republican movement and Sinn Féin in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Ross 2006), the views activists in the women's movements in the U.K. and U.S. hold of political parties (Evans 2016), and a comparison between the Dutch Labour Party and Italian Christian Democrats as a most- and a least-likely case, respectively, of being influenced by the ecology movement (Piccio 2016). Second, researchers have focused on how movements shape parties under the specific conditions of democratic transitions in South Africa (Klandermans 2015) and Latin America (Almeida 2010). Third, scholars have elucidated the conditions that drive social movement activists to the electoral arena in general (Farrer 2014) and with a focus on New Social Movements in Europe in particular (Rucht 1994, p. 313)[1]. Students of political parties have also investigated what factors determine which side of the party-movement divide activists decide to participate in once both sides are well-established (Ramiro & Morales 2014). Finally, the recent wave of social movements responding to the

[1]See also Rohrschneider (1993*a*) for an analysis of New Social Movements' influence on mainstream party models.

European debt crisis and austerity politics[2] and the parties that they gave rise to have spawned significant interest in party-movement interactions (see e.g. della Porta, Fernández, Kouki, & Mosca (2017) for a systematic analysis of these new parties). This literature is beginning to systematically highlight the importance of party-movement interactions and Charalambous & Ioannou (2017), for instance, demonstrate that the absence of anti-austerity protest in Cyprus is rooted in the way political parties in the country connect to civil society.[3]

McAdam & Tarrow (2013) reacted to this lack of systematic research into the link between social movements and electoral politics by outlining mechanisms and processes linking the former to the latter (McAdam & Tarrow 2010, McAdam & Tarrow 2013).[4] This project responds to McAdam and Tarrow's call for a systematic connection between social movements and elections by illuminating the interactions between social movements and the parties that they once spawned. I begin by theorizing the (potential) links between social movements and political parties, before demonstrating that existing approaches cannot explain the currently pre-dominant model of these links in Western European and outlining a theory accounting for this contemporary pattern.

[2]See della Porta (2015) for an overview of these movements.

[3]Earlier, Hutter (2014) had also touched on the role of parties sponsoring protest in the context of a new cleavage separating those preferring further international integration from those who prefer national demarcation.

[4]For the foundational work on a research program focusing on mechanisms, processes, and episodes, see McAdam, Tarrow, & Tilly (2001). See also chapter 6 of this dissertation for mechanisms linking movement demands to party platforms.

Connecting Social Movements and Political Parties

Much of the recent work that has systematically looked at connecting social movements with political parties and the electoral arena has centered on Northern and Latin America. Based on the extensive evidence of Democratic (activist) involvement with the U.S. peace movement Heaney & Rojas (2015) show that partisans entering a movement shape its character and illustrate how the withdrawal of these partisans in the aftermath of electoral success led to a decline, as well as radicalization of the movement (see also Heaney & Rojas (2011)).[5] Moreover, recent work in both sociology and political science focusing on party development over longer time horizons demonstrates how social movements have fundamentally shaped the two major U.S. parties. McAdam & Kloos (2014) show that social movements capturing Democrats and Republicans at different times and moving them away from the political center is a central cause for the increasing political polarization in the United States. Similarly, Schlozman (2015) traces how alliances between social movements and political parties, in which the former lend organizational support to the latter in exchange for ideological concessions, have shaped American political development (Schlozman 2015, p. 18).[6]

With respect to Latin America, the recent wave of ethnic movement parties (see e.g. Madrid (2012)) has led to an increased interest in the interactions between parties and movements. Anria & Cyr (forthcoming) show that building intensive rather than extensive linkage with social movements – i.e. links that

[5]See also Redding (1992) for early work on how party founding in North Carolina during the Populist era led to what Hadden & Tarrow (2007) have defined as social movement spillout.

[6]See also Mildred Schwartz's work on theorizing party-movement interactions in the U.S. and Canada (mainly with a sub-national focus), which draws heavily on organizational theory borrowed from the analysis of firms (Schwartz 2010, Schwartz 2006).

integrate social actors directly into the party organization rather than through, for instance, programmatic concessions – helps parties to manage conflicts between different parts of their base. Santiago Anria (2016), on his own, has examined when local grassroots organizations can limit oligarchic tendencies in party leadership focusing on candidate selection in the Bolivian MAS. Analyzing the role of the political left in "deepening democracy" after authoritarianism, Roberts (1998) suggests that on the Latin American left the relationships between parties and movements can be summarized in three models: a vanguard model in which the party dominates the movement, an organic model with blurred lines between the movement and the party, and finally an electoralist model in which the party respects movement autonomy. He argues that these models "are closely related to specific types of political programs and organizational characteristics in leftist parties" (Roberts 1998, p. 76).

Notably, these two dimensions – programmatic and organizational – along which parties and movements can be linked emerge consistently from this literature. Sometimes linkage or dissolution of such linkage on one dimension leads to a dissolution on the other dimension. For instance, once the organizational connection between Democrats and the peace movement collapsed after the 2008 election because Democratic partisans stopped being active in the movement, that movement radicalized and shifted away from the Democratic Party in terms of its program (Heaney & Rojas 2011). On other occasions changes on one dimension do not affect the other. The New Left activists, identified by McAdam & Kloos (2014) as one of the movement actors driving partisan polarization, have long demobilized and thus lost their organizational connection with the Democrats. Yet their programmatic influence on the party remains.

Thus a connection between political parties and social movements can occur on two distinct dimensions – programmatic orientation and organizational profile – as shown in Figure 2.1. A party is programmatically aligned with a social movement if the party consistently highlights the core issues of the movement, as well as advocates policies close to movement demands. This allows the programmatic dimension to vary from complete agreement (a shared programmatic focus and identical policy proposals, which is a hypothetical condition, approximated best by the mid-19th century trade union movement and Socialist parties in their earliest days) to complete divergence (different issue-focuses and strong disagreement on policy proposals, being approximated, for instance, by the digital movement in Germany and the Christian Democratic Party[7]).[8] Note that the term programmatic connection refers to a specific connection with an existing and mobilized social movement. While this also implies that movement parties connect to voters in a programmatic way, it does not imply that other parties do not also rely on programmatic connections to voters. In fact, party competition for voters in Europe has largely remained programmatic in nature and eschewed alternatives like clientelistic linkages (Kitschelt 2006*a*). The other, mainstream parties, however, do not have a strong programmatic connection to a specific social movement.

I define an organizational connection between a political party and an ex-

[7]The Christian Democrats are focused on economic issues and when taking positions on privacy, for instance, tend to prioritize security, state-control, and company interests over digital freedoms.

[8]The largest, active opposition here is not between actors showing complete divergence, but between actors that have the same issue focus, but entirely opposing policy proposals. That is, the largest conflict should be expected, for instance, between radical right parties and pro-immigration NGOs, and not between these parties and the union movement where policies diverge too, but the issue focus is different (though trade unions have often been a strong part of contemporary, anti-racist mobilization). Since this dissertation focuses on movements and the parties to which they gave rise, these conflicting actor combinations (either because of complete divergence or because of a shared issue-focus with conflicting policy preferences) are beyond the scope of this study.

ternal actor as the existence of a) formal links that allow external actors to influence the party (like e.g. shared membership in an organization and party or an organizational unit inside the party that gives an official voice and internal representation to the social movement), b) routinized interactions (as, for instance, regular meetings of the party and movement elites), and c) shared political elites. This definition allows the organizational dimension to vary from complete symbiosis (shared leadership with strong formal and informal links between party and movement, as for instance in the case of some early Socialist parties and trade unions) to complete independence (with no shared elites, formal links, or informal interactions, as for instance the relationship between the German environmental groups and the liberal Free Democratic Party in the early 2010s [interviews 010406, 010410]). Along this dimension the vast majority of post-1945 movement parties have moved from relatively close organizational links to loosening these links significantly. This is not to argue, however, that there are not some remaining organizational connections (mainly in the form of informal interactions) or that there is no variation in the strength of these links between different movement platform parties or party families, but that they have severely weakened.

Figure 2.1: Linkages Between Political Parties and Social Movements

		Organizational Connection: Strong	Organizational Connection: Weak
Programmatic Connection	Strong	Movement Party	Movement Platform Party
	Weak	Club Party	Electoral-professional Party

As illustrated in figure 2.1, parties that have strong connections to a social movement on both dimensions are ideal-typical movement parties, like the Eu-

ropean Socialist parties in the 19th century. These parties are the movements in the electoral arena. Parties that lack these connections on both dimensions are termed "electoral-professional parties" (Panebianco 1988), since they rely on a professional staff, instead of a base in civil society, and are focused primarily on electoral success. The electoral-professional label will subsume catch-all[9] (Kirchheimer 1966) and cartel parties[10] (Katz & Mair 1995), like today's main center-left (Social Democratic) and center-right (Christian Democratic) parties, as well as smaller professionalized parties like the Dutch D66. I define political parties that retain organizational cooperation, but no longer have strong links to the original programmatic goals of the movement as "club parties," because they remain tied to a specific social group. The influence of union officials on and within the Austrian Social Democratic Party for instance continued to be strong in the 1970s, even though the party's programmatic appeals were far removed from traditional Socialist, let alone revolutionary demands (Kitschelt 1994, pp. 225, 272). Thus parties that have shed their programmatic ties to the social movements that gave rise to them have usually moved away from a policy- to a vote-seeking profile.[11] Finally, "movement platform parties," i.e. those that retain strong programmatic links to movements, but are

[9] As Williams (2009) summarizes "[f]ollowing Kirchheimer, catch-all parties can be identified by their size as larger mainstream parties, by their pursuit of votes at the expense of ideology, by their centrist and often inconsistent party platforms designed to appeal to ever wider audiences, and by their organizational style that is elite driven" (Williams 2009, p. 539). Thus, since they aim at winning support from the broadest possible set of sectors in society, catch-all parties can afford neither concentrating on one issue area, nor adopting the precise demands of a movement for fear of alienating voters. Kirchheimer (1966) described this as the "limited integration" between the catch-all party, interest groups, and voters (Kirchheimer 1966, pp. 192-195).

[10] Cartel parties collude with other parties and "become agents of the state and employ the resources of the state [...] to ensure their own collective survival" (Katz & Mair 1995, p. 5). In that way they have receded from civil society, both programmatically and in terms of organizational connection to societal groups and organizations, including social movements.

[11] This does not imply that the reverse is true, i.e. that parties with programmatic links to movements are always policy-seeking. While this might be the case for the movement party ideal type, I will argue below that no assumptions need to be made about movement platform parties, because for them vote- and policy-seeking strategies do not represent a trade-off, but rather overlap.

organizationally decoupled from them, are the focus of this dissertation. Most parties that originated in West European social movements post-1945, including regionalist, Green, radical right, and more recently Pirate parties and Southern European anti-austerity/establishment parties have adopted this party model (see also Kitschelt (2003) and for the German Greens in particular Mayer & Ely (1998, p. 7)).

As discussed in the introduction and illustrated in figure 1.2, these post-1945 movement parties seem to follow a different path than their Social Democratic predecessors. The older movement parties consistently evolved into electoral-professional parties. They first moved towards the club party model by shedding their programmatic zeal for revolution and expanding their appeal to a broader set of working and middle class voters (Przeworski & Sprague 1986, pp. 40-45). For example, the German Social Democratic Party's vote in favor of the war credits necessary for World War I demonstrates as clearly as possible that the party had not only given up on revolutionary goals, but even on the idea that the class cleavage should supersede any divisions artificially introduced by national borders. In most cases, Social Democrats have furthermore organizationally decoupled from the movement and thus moved towards being organized as electoral-professional parties.[12] But not only Europe's dominant center-left party family has gone through the evolution from movement to electoral-

[12]The most notable exception to this development is the British Labour Party which retains strong organizational and financial links to the trade unions. The British unions however are known to have been relatively conservative in their programmatic goals in the first place (Bartolini 2000, p. 71). Moreover, even in the British case the relationship with the unions has been increasingly strained with the "Schröder-Blair Paper" (cf. Schmidt-Beck & Tenscher (2008)) and Tony Blair's "Third Way" approach (Coates 2000, p. 6). This trend has continued more recently when allegations that the Unite union rigged Labour's candidate selection process in the Falkirk constituency led to a party vote to reduce the organizational links to the unions significantly (BBC 2014). Jeremy Corbyn's ascension to the Labour leadership has stopped this development for now and reestablished a closer relationship to the union movement (see, for instance, Grice (2017); cf. also the discussion in chapter 7).

professional parties. Stathis Kalyvas argues that Christian Democrats in many respects mirror Social Democratic parties (Kalyvas 1996, p. 264). Christian Democratic parties were the result of movements driven by Catholic laymen and often established against the preferences of the Church and conservative elites. As such, from the beginning these parties had a more strained relationship with movement actors who had to negotiate their position between parties and the Church. The Christian Democratic parties detached themselves from the Church early in their evolution (Kalyvas 1996, p. 18). In pursuit of a broader set of voters Christian Democratic parties "were deradicalized in the process, becoming part of the very institutions they initially rejected" (Kalyvas 1996, p. 264). Accordingly, the two party families that represent the two dominant center-left and center-right parties in almost all West European countries have both gone through the process of losing their programmatic and organizational links to the social movement actors that gave rise to them.

Their pattern of evolution stands in stark contrast to movement parties born into the "frozen" party systems of post-1945 Western Europe (Lipset & Rokkan 1967), which shed their organizational links to social movements over the first decades of their existence, but retained close links to the movements' policy goals. That is, these parties adopted the movement platform party model. Thus the central research question this dissertation addresses is why parties that originated in movements post-1945 have adopted this model and diverged from the evolutionary path of earlier movement parties. By extension, this project will also speak to questions of how these parties manage their relationships with social movements and why they have made different decisions than the Social and Christian Democratic parties that came before them. The following section discusses existing approaches that address some of these issues, before

I outline my own theory in the final section of this chapter.

Alternative Explanations

While little work has focused on illuminating parties' links with social movements in particular, work in three traditions has shed light on the parties this dissertation focuses on and their evolution. These approaches, rooted in rational-choice accounts of party evolution, the analysis of older and in particular Social Democratic movement parties, and the study of niche parties respectively all illuminate some aspect of party-movement interactions but, as we will see below, cannot account for their choice of the movement platform party model.

The first group of theories applies a rationalist approach with a focus on elite preferences to explain the origins and evolution of political parties. In John Aldrich's (2011) prominent account of U.S. parties, he argues that the central actors in a party are office seekers (Aldrich 2011, p. 17).[13] In his view these office seekers face three central problems and creating political parties helps them to solve these problems (Aldrich 2011, pp. 19-22). Besides regulating the access to public office and allowing the creation of stable voting blocs that solve social choice problems and avoid voting cycles,[14] parties help office-seekers solve the collective action problem[15] of mobilizing voters (Aldrich 2011, pp. 105-109). From this perspective, the decision to retain a strong link to a particular social movement is puzzling as it impedes the goal of mobilizing the largest number

[13] Also see Ostrogorski (1970*b*) for a similar, much earlier account of the U.S. developments Aldrich (2011) focuses on.

[14] See Arrow (1951) on voting cycles.

[15] See Olson (1965) for a general theory of collective action problems.

of voters in order to win office. The programmatic positions required to retain the link to a movement can be interpreted in two ways. First, as taking positions far away from the median voter and thus the programmatic locus of mainstream parties (Downs 1957) thereby giving up competing for the largest part of the electorate. A second interpretation is that movement platform parties and the movements from which they are spawned add new dimensions to political competition. Again, competing on these new dimension, which are at least early on not prioritized by the majority of voters, is not a strategy to maximize the chance for winning office. Moreover, despite their increasing relevance none of the alternative, new dimensions like the one between the poles of materialism and post-materialism (Inglehart 1997), of which environmental movements and Green parties can be seen as an expression, have so far supplanted the main left/right divide, which is dominated by economic issues (Häusermann & Kriesi 2015, pp. 222-227).

The second actor Aldrich (2011) highlights are benefit-seekers, who provide resources needed by office-seekers in exchange for patronage by those politicians (Aldrich 2011, p. 18). Again, these actors do not profit from narrowing a party's programmatic appeal to those sympathetic to a specific social movement, as it lessens the chance for office-seekers to access the government resources needed to extend patronage to benefit-seekers. While Aldrich (2011) highlights that after 1960s the nature of benefit-seekers has moved from those seeking patronage to ideological activists seeking policy change (Aldrich 2011, pp. 187-188), chapter 3 below shows that a similar reinvigoration by (movement) activists has not occurred in the European context. On the contrary, movement and party activism are increasingly distinct fields with their own, separated sets of (potential) actors (cf. Ramiro & Morales (2014)).

Not only do these approaches have difficulties accounting for the retention of strong programmatic links with movements, their correct prediction that the organizational connection between parties and movements will disappear over time would expect party elites to be the actor that pushes for the dissolution of those links in order to increase their own flexibility in achieving office-seeking goals (see e.g. Kitschelt's discussion of trade union links to Social Democratic parties (Kitschelt 1994, p. 225)). Yet, as chapter 4 below demonstrates, the organizational separation is largely driven by movement elite preferences.

Extensions of the rationalist approach have been made to specifically allow for the analysis of movement parties. Kitschelt (2006*b*) defines movement parties as those making low investments in solving collective action and social choice problems. Thus, he retains the focus on problems faced by party elites and predicts a change away from the movement party model to occur depending on changes in the opportunity structure relating to the salience of a party's core issue, policy changes, and government participation (Kitschelt 2006*b*, p. 288). While these factors are clearly relevant, the party elite focus of this approach blinds it to the importance of social movement strategies in shaping the models parties (can) adopt. The approach also fails to explicitly recognize the possibility that organizational and programmatic links between a party and a movement are shaped in different ways. This dissertation will demonstrate that not only the dissolution of organizational links discussed above, but also the retention of programmatic links is the result of strategic choices of social movements (and party reactions to those strategies).

A second group of approaches traces the evolution of Social Democratic parties from movement parties with tight programmatic links to the union move-

ment to electoral-professional, catch-all type parties. These approaches expect all movement parties to moderate, diversify, and increase the vagueness of their programmatic platform in search of a broader electoral base beyond movement sympathizers. The most prominent account in this vein is Przeworski and Sprague's work on European Social Democracy (Przeworski & Sprague 1986). They show that because workers did not come to dominate advanced industrial societies to the extent that appealing to them on class-centered platforms facilitated winning parliamentary majorities, Social Democrats broadened their appeals to include other socio-demographic groups beginning with potential allies in agricultural and later the middle classes (Przeworski & Sprague 1986, pp. 33-45). This programmatic broadening, however, undermined the party's ability to focus programmatic appeals on "workers' interests" and thus led to a drift not only from the union movement, but towards competing electorally based on policy offerings that would maximize the vote targeted at individual- rather than group-interests (Przeworski & Sprague 1986, pp. 45-55). Why newer movement parties have not similarly tried to broaden their programmatic appeals, especially considering their relatively meager electoral results, remains puzzling from this viewpoint.

The expectations these approaches have for movement parties' organizational connections to movements build on early insights from studies of political parties by Ostrogorski (1970*a*) and Michels (1915) and are more in line with the empirical observations. Based on the historical development of parties in the United Kingdom, Ostrogorski (1970*a*) argued that parties made "electioneering" more complicated, requiring increasing professionalization of their organizations and thereby making the party "worker" the central player in the party organization (Ostrogorski 1970*a*, e.g. pp. 592-593). Similarly, Michels' (1915) fa-

mous "iron law of oligarchy" is based on the assumption that the bureaucratic structures of a party apparatus, due to their increasing complexity, would eventually empower elites within these parties, among other reasons because party members did not possess the necessary skills to effectively control those elites. Thus, these approaches expect increasing professionalization of political parties and that the party elites empowered in that way will move their organization away from its organizational roots in social movements. While professionalization[16] and a move away from parties' bottom-up roots can indeed be observed (cf. chapter 3), this project, as discussed above, will demonstrate that this is not the work of party elites.

Thus both the rationalist approach and theories developed to account for the evolution of earlier movement parties expect a focus on winning elections through programmatic broadening and moderation (the "electoral" in electoral-professional party), as well as a professionalization of the party bureaucracy limiting outside influence and connections (the "professional" in electoral-professional party). Yet we have not observed the programmatic de-linking of movement parties since 1945 and the organizational separation was driven by movement actors, rather than party elites' preferences.

Finally, there have been literatures on each of the movement platform party families (see chapter 3 for an overview), often focused on explaining their appearance and electoral success, as well as occasional attempts to classify some of their similarities, e.g. as new challenger parties (Hino 2012) or anti-political

[16]This professionalization also highlights that the retention of programmatic links is not completely driven by a larger influence of policy-driven activists in internally more democratic parties (Lehrer 2012). While many movement platform parties remain more participatory than mainstream parties and chapter 6 will show that movements influence party platforms through a shared activist base, the parties also have experienced some level of professionalization (see e.g. Burchell (2001*a*) with respect to Green parties) that significantly empowered party elites, whose preferences and interests are not (automatically) aligned with the activist base.

establishment parties (Abedi 2004). The most fruitful strain of research, however, has come from conceptualizing Green, radical right, and regionalist parties as niche parties (Meguid 2008). Meguid (2005) defines niche parties as political parties that focus on limited programmatic appeals regarding issues that are not easily located alongside the traditional, class-dominated left/right dimension (Meguid 2005, pp. 347-348). The resulting literature has contributed much to our understanding of partisan dynamics in Europe including the conditions under which mainstream parties can limit niche party success (for instance Pardos-Prado (2015) and Meguid (2008)) and even how niche parties influence trade policy (Camyar 2012). Depending on the definition of "niche party," which has become a topic of debate,[17] niche parties and movement platform parties are overlapping, but by no means identical concepts. Movement platform parties are defined through their programmatic connection to a social movement. While this is the case for many niche parties, not all of them remain programmatically connected to an existing movement. Adams et al. (2006), for instance, include Communist Parties in their analysis of niche parties. The radical (union) organizations that gave rise to these parties have long ceased to exist and can accordingly not interact with and exert pressure on parties in the way environmental movement organizations do with respect to Green parties, for example. Moreover, not all regionalist parties have had mobilized social movements as their origin. Furthermore, as discussed above, more recent social movements spawned parties like Podemos in Spain that had strong characteristics of the movement platform party model from their inception.[18] These parties successfully compete on the mainstream, economic left/right dimension

[17]See Meguid (2005), Adams, Clark, Ezrow, & Glasgow (2006), Wagner (2012), and Bischof (2017) for four distinct approaches.

[18]See Gómez-Reino & Llamazares (2015, pp. 18-21) for the organizational struggles within Podemos and the move from grassroots to a structure more focused on the national leadership of Pablo Iglesias.

(by outflanking the mainstream parties on the left) and are thus not niche parties in Meguid's (2005) definition. In short, while many parties included in the analysis below are both niche and movement platform parties, there are niche parties (e.g., Communists) that are not movement platform parties, as well as movement platform parties (e.g. Podemos) that are not niche parties.[19]

More important than the definitional differences is that the niche party literature struggles to explain movement platform parties' adherence to their programmatic links to movements. Meyer & Wagner (2013) argue that niche parties should moderate when faced with disappointing electoral results. Yet, as the example of the Swedish Greens in the introduction above illustrates, many movement platform parties have retained their programmatic link to a movement even though they achieved comparatively little electoral success and did not experience consistent improvement of their electoral fortunes. Moreover, after the recent sovereign debt crisis in Europe weakened the attachments of many voters to mainstream parties (Hernández & Kriesi 2016), many niche parties with movement roots were at first glance best positioned to profit from that development. Green parties, for instance, were established center-left parties which by delinking from the movements which gave rise to them and stressing their economic positions could have replaced the mainstream center-left parties damaged by the European crisis. Yet new challenger parties filled that role and Green parties remained static in their movement platform party model. This behavior is particularly puzzling in light of research on niche parties' electoral performance demonstrating that while highlighting niche issues is electorally advantageous for young parties, these advantages of "nicheness" (i.e. remaining tied to movement demands in the case of niche parties with movement

[19]See figure E.1 for an illustration of the overlap and differences between the programmatic and niche party concepts.

origins) diminishes over time (Zons 2016). I will argue below that the reason why work on niche parties struggles to account for the sustained niche-focus of many niche parties with movement roots is that it overlooks these roots and the agency of social movements.

In sum, the three approaches most suitable to analyzing the evolution of movement parties cannot explain their consistent transformation into movement platform parties. Because they are either focused on party elite behavior (rationalist approaches to party development and studies of Social Democrats' evolution) or narrow the relevant actors to parties and their voter base (the niche party literature), these approaches overlook the deep roots of these parties in civil society and how they are shaped by social movements' tactics to hold them accountable. I will lay out this argument in detail below.

The Argument: Movement Platform Parties as the Result of Social Movement Strategies and Saturated Electoral Markets

I argue that the answer to the puzzle of why contemporary movement parties adopt the movement platform party type lies in how party elites' room for maneuver is constrained by social movement elites' preferences and strategies, as well as the saturated West European electoral markets and the preferences of those voters left up for grabs in those markets. Social movements maximize their policy influence through organizational separation from all political parties, while at the same time exerting policy-pressure on those parties. Political parties with movement roots do not have the resources to prevent SMOs seeking to organizationally distance themselves from the parties they spawned. More-

over, due to a combination of SMO pressure regarding policies and the programmatically motivated nature of their core electorates, these parties also lack opportunities to broaden their electoral appeal beyond movement platforms.

Thus, this dissertation argues that what looks like a disadvantageous way for former movement parties to manage their relationships with the movement is actually the result of highly party elites strategically reacting to social movement pressure and the limitations of their environments. By adopting the movement platform model these parties maximize electoral success, which for most of these parties equals survival as parliamentary parties due to their small size.

I will discuss the incentives for movement and then party elites with respect to organizational and programmatic connections between them in distinct subsections below. Both the reasoning here and the evidence in subsequent chapters focuses on parties that have successfully established themselves in at least some parliaments (be they subnational, supranational, or federal) in their respective countries. That is, the question of when new parties are formed and under which circumstances they become successful parliamentary parties is beyond the scope of this project.[20]

Incentives for Social Movements

While social movements are inextricably linked to the parties that originate from them in the parties' early days, I argue that social movements should seek to loosen their **organizational connection** to those parties. There are three distinct

[20]There is a rich literature on these questions. See Bolleyer (2013, pp. 24-30) for an overview and Farrer (2014) for the specific question when (movement) activists turn to party activism to push their policy agenda.

reasons that incentivize movements and their organizations to do so. First, being perceived as a partisan organization will severely limit their ability to build support for their goals, both on the level of activists and donors and on the level of political elites. Social movements need to build a broad coalition reaching far beyond the supporters of one particular political party to achieve their desired policy change. Being perceived as affiliated, or worse a "front organization," for a political party will severely limit SMOs' chances to recruit the necessary activists and donors, because the organizations' appeal will remain limited to those sympathetic to that one party. Thus, organizational separation from the party spawned by the movement will increase SMOs' mobilizational potential. With respect to political elites, organizational separation furthermore allows for working relationships with other parties and thus influence on policy, independent of the partisan composition of the government. Both of these factors weigh particularly heavy in the context of electoral systems characterized by proportional representation that dominate in Western Europe, as the resulting multi-party systems create more and smaller parties (Duverger 1972), making strong ties to only one of them even less desirable. Movement parties are, additionally, especially poor potential partners for close cooperation, since their electoral success is often uncertain in the beginning and has remained severely circumscribed even in later stages of their development. As described in the introduction, for instance, the Swedish Greens struggled to gain parliamentary representation for the better part of a decade after their founding and lost that representation again after just one legislative period. Thus, social movement organizations are incentivized to establish contacts with all relevant, not completely adversarial political parties, but organizational ties with none. Aiming for this kind of role "between" the political parties is a strategy only open to

contemporary SMOs, because they find themselves in a different environment than their union predecessors, who could not hope for cooperation from the existing liberal or conservative parties, leaving the new Socialist parties as the only credible partners.

Second, many movements that gave rise to movement platform parties organized activists who are very skeptical about the efficacy of political parties for achieving policy change and accordingly about cooperating with those parties. Aware of the Social Democratic experience and their drift from the workers' movement described above, these so-called New Social Movements (NSMs) (Kriesi, Koopmans, Duyvendak, & Giugni 1995) often saw establishing more direct democratic models of participation, avoiding the "iron law of oligarchy," as an explicit goal (Kitschelt 1993). Thus, these movements and their activists consciously adopted a model different from the "old left" and kept their distance from party politics, seeing it as tainted by self-interest instead of serving the larger public interest. Despite this skepticism these New Social Movements were the origins of Green parties and also influenced leftist regionalist parties, like the Welch Plaid Cymru (McAllister 2002), and Pirate Parties (e.g. Haas & Hilmer (2012) for the German case). Those activists, however, that did not engage with the party founding process are more likely than their predecessors in the union or Catholic laymen movements to harbor views critical of parties and to eschew organizationally connecting with them.

Third, the organizational separation should furthermore be expected as a natural consequence of the party founding process which forces movement activists and sympathizers to make a choice between dedicating their time and effort to party or movement activism. While some might be able to split their

time equally, most activists are (over time) likely to focus on one area of activism or the other. For elites in particular it will be almost impossible to remain firmly rooted in both the party and the movement, considering the time investment required for these positions. This process should lead to a particular strong separation of a movement and party sphere in NSM-driven movement parties, as those activists who are willing to make some programmatic compromises and potentially take over government responsibility, will enter the party early. Others, who preferred a more stringent, non-parliamentarian movement approach, will have stayed outside of the party or left it early on. Thus, founding the party separates the movement into two sets of actors that share policy goals, but do not agree about the best way to reach them and are thus unlikely to retain strong organizational ties in the long term. This might explain findings showing that civil society organizations and Green parties in Spain rely on different sets of (potential) activists (Ramiro & Morales 2014).

The only clear benefit an organizational connection with a party would offer social movements is to serve as focal point for the various activist circles of the movements, for example as an agenda setter during electoral campaigns. As Tarrow (1998) argues (new) social movements have evaded Michels' (1915) "iron law of oligarchy" through increasingly decentralized structures (Tarrow 1998, pp. 129-132). Without coordination however, these movements are threatened by inefficiency and thus "the most effective forms of organization are based on partly autonomous and contextually rooted local units linked by connective structures, and *coordinated by formal organizations*" (Tarrow 1998, p. 124) (emphasis added). Yet there is no reason SMOs cannot play the coordinating roles themselves and would need to rely on a party for this function. In fact some movements have explicitly created umbrella organizations, like the

German League for Nature, Animal Protection and Environment, to coordinate the activities of different SMOs. Thus, in sum, social movements and their organizations have three distinct incentives grounded in maximizing their programmatic influence, skepticism about the motives and efficacy of political parties, and the dynamics of aging organizations to organizationally separate from the parties they spawn.

With respect to **programmatic links**, however, movements have no reason to advocate for distance between party and movement as long as the lack of organizational connections is clear. Even if the party remains small, having a party that articulates movement demands in the parliamentary arena and potentially in governments can be helpful in many ways. As long as the party exists, the political opportunity structure is a little more open for the movements, since they have a set of elite allies (Tarrow 1998, pp. 79-80). In fact, many contemporary movements are uniquely positioned to exert pressure on political parties and since they have partially institutionalized (cf. chapter 3 for a discussion of the parties relevant to this project and the movements that surround them) and can make use of a wide variety of tactics ranging from political contention to interest group-style approaches like lobbying. However, earlier movements, like the labour movement, also have brought pressure down on the parties they spawned, but could not prevent the programmatic drift of those parties. The next subsection will theorize why contemporary movement parties made different decisions than their Social and Christian Democratic predecessors and cannot escape the movements' policy pressure.

Strategic Incentives for Movement Parties

With respect to an **organizational link**, I argue that movement platform parties, which as described above have few resources to offer movements, are forced to accept the organizational separation desired by SMOs. Under these circumstances party elites have no other alternative than to accept the growing organizational distance from the movement and to try to capitalize on it by realizing so-called "positive radical flank effects" (Haines 1988). As soon as the party and movement are (perceived as) separate actors and the party takes a more moderate position than the movement, the movement becomes a radical flank to the party,[21] which constrains party behavior. Parties with movement roots are likely to be more moderate than the movements which spawned them because participating in elections and formulating platforms requires being more specific about policies and their timetables, which will often lead to moderation in order to specify "realistic/achievable" goals. The Scottish National Party (SNP), for instance, as a party of regional government that negotiated the independence referendum of 2014, faced the Radical Independence Campaign, an alliance of groups to the left of the SNP also campaigning for independence (Scotland Herald 2012). In the case that the party is in a position to shape policy having to make compromises to pass legislation becomes even more likely (cf. Kitschelt (2006*b*, p. 285)). The plans for a nuclear energy phase out developed by a Green Party-backed government in Germany, for instance, were not

[21] Moderates and radicals are relative concepts (Haines 1988, pp. 7-8). They can be distinguished via the strategies they pursue, which I define, following Szymanski (2003) as the choices social movements (and movement parties in this case) make about how to define and pursue their goals (Szymanski 2003, p. 5). The level of contentiousness on these two dimensions, goal definition and the repertoire of action used to pursue it, are likely to correlate. This is especially likely in the case under study here where moderates are parties and by definition focus at least some energy on participation through the accepted mechanism of elections, and furthermore have strong incentives to also moderate goals.

far reaching enough for many in the anti-nuclear movement and the movement has been critical of the outcomes generated by the plan (e.g. Stay (2009)).

For moderates (the party in this case) the existence of radical flanks can have positive or negative effects (Killian 1972, Haines 1988). On the one hand, radicals can help moderates to keep the movement's issue on the agenda. When moderates can point to a clear separation from radicals, the latter's presence can furthermore lead to outside support and access to decision makers for moderates, and eventually contribute to goal attainment (Haines 1988, pp. 5-11). Moderate civil rights organizations in the United States, for example, received increasing donations from corporations, the federal government, and foundations (i.e. establishment actors) during the escalation of the civil rights movement towards the end of the 1950s and in the 1960s (Haines 1988, pp. 127-128). Furthermore not only movement organizations can profit from radical flank effects. The radical right Danish People's Party, for instance, benefited from positive radical flank effects, since its xenophobic frames were more acceptable to the electorate due to the presence of another party that was even more radical in its xenophobic appeals (Rydgren 2004, p. 487). On the other hand, negative radical flank effects might hurt the party when radicalism undermines the legitimacy of the movement as a whole or pulls moderates too far from the center of public opinion or the median voter, respectively.[22] Thus, with organizational separation forced upon them by the movement, party elites should work to realize positive radical flank effects to at least mitigate the loss of the movement's mobilizational potential.

[22]Haines (1988) argues that both negative and positive radical flank effects will almost always coexist and that the net effects are decisive (Haines 1988, p. 176). He finds that positive radical flank effects consistently prevailed in the U.S. civil rights movement. Positive effects have also been identified by others studying the civil rights movement (Jenkins & Eckert 1986).

Turning to the **programmatic connection**, the need to take a somewhat more moderate position than the movement to achieve positive radical flank effects is not the only incentive to loosen programmatic ties with the movement. Programmatic connections, additionally limit the parties' abilities to achieve electoral success because they make it difficult for voters outside the movement core to identify with the party. This is a major problem where movement activists represent a relatively small sub-set of the electorate. In sum, programmatic ties lock movement parties into policy platforms that limit party leaders' abilities to appeal to a broader electorate and react to shifting voter distributions in a flexible manner.

Thus, in the absence of organizational links with movements whose mobilizational potential might make up for the downsides of a programmatic movement connection, movement platform party elites face strong incentives to also decouple from the movement programmatically to broaden their parties' electoral appeal. Even if these elites are exclusively focused on policy change they will have an interest in winning a significant number of votes and parliamentary seats. This is the case independent of whether the parties are office/vote-seeking (Downs 1957) or policy-seeking (Müller & Strøm 1999, de Swaan 1973), because even for the latter electoral success is a precondition for policy influence, either through government participation or being a large enough threat to another party which will then adopt some of the movement's policy demands.

Theoretically three different ways of becoming more appealing to broader electorates are available to party elites. First, they could follow the trajectory laid out by older movement parties and move towards an electoral-professional party model with broader and/or more vague programmatic ap-

peals that are targeted at the median voter rather than movement activists (Panebianco 1988, Katz & Mair 1995). Second, movement platform parties could adopt segmented programmatic appeals to different constituencies, allowing them to retain core voters, while sending different and broader appeals to other voters (cf. Luna (2014) on segmented representation). Finally, they could shed the programmatic nature of their appeals altogether and adopt an anti-establishment, populist model, attracting voters by presenting themselves as representatives of the "true people" in the struggle against an entrenched, corrupt elite (Mudde & Kaltwasser 2012*a*).

Why do movement parties not make use of these strategies and reap their electoral benefits? I argue that their ability to do so is circumscribed by the strategic environment into which contemporary movement parties are "born." They face both a different party-political space and a different civil society environment than pre-World War II movement parties. With respect to the former and unlike the world that defined the choices of earlier movement parties, European politics are already dominated by electoral-professional parties (Panebianco 1988), which appeal to the electorate on broad and vague platforms. Movement parties are compelled to break with this model and enter the electoral arena with concrete programmatic linkages in specific issue areas. These linkages are typically offered on a different axis of competition than the dominant left/right divide about economic policy (cf. Hug (2001)) and the electoral appeal of these parties is mostly based on these programmatic stands, which differentiate them from mainstream parties. Examples for this are abundant. The SNPs commitment to Scottish independence, even after the lost referendum in 2014, is not in doubt, and the party is already pushing for another referendum in light of the British decision to leave the

European Union (Stone 2016). Green Parties have achieved nuclear phase-outs in Germany (Rüdig 2002) and left a government over the construction of new nuclear power plants in Finland (Sundberg & Wilhelmsson 2004). Finally, many studies have shown that "anti-immigration messages are the core issues" (Rydgren 2007, p. 244) of radical right parties and this focus is plainly visible across Europe. A recent prominent example is the Sweden Democrats who almost managed to bring down the Swedish minority government in late 2014 (Svenska Dagbladet 2014*a*).

Thus while movement parties might attract some protest and anti-establishment voters, for their core support these parties rely on issue voters: those who demand policy change regarding the movement parties' area of focus in particular (e.g. independence or increased autonomy for Regionalist parties). The nature of issue voting, i.e. voting based on which party's platform is closest to a voter's issue preferences, has long been debated in political science (Borre 2001, pp. 9-15). The literature has focused on questions of how partisan attachments relate to issue voting and which of these two factors exerts a stronger influence on the vote decision (RePass 1971, Broh 1973), as well as the relative strength of issue voting compared to evaluations of party leaders (Bellucci, Garzia, & Lewis-Beck 2015). Recently, however, studies have started to recognize that contextual factors (Lachat 2011) and the characteristics of parties in particular (Hellwig 2014, Gerber, Nicolet, & Sciarini 2015) can moderate the level of issue voting. While I agree that party characteristics are related to issue voting, I depart from this literature by arguing that citizens differ in how interested they are in being able to vote on the issues. Many voters seem to be satisfied with the broad, economic programmatic linkages of mainstream parties. These voters rely on habitual identities (Campbell, Converse,

Miller, & Stokes 1960), assessments of the governments performance on the economy (Powell & Whitten 1993, Anderson 2000), or the personality of candidates (Aarts, Blais, & Schmitt 2011) to make their vote decision. However, those citizens who have a strong preference for casting a vote based on clear policy choices will flock to movement and movement platform parties. That is, these parties have strong incentives to compete on a different issue dimension beyond broader left/right economic issues and/or offer more specifically described policy platforms.

Thus, my argument is in line with the observation that"[t]he dimensionality of the political space has increased and electorates are more fragmented" in advanced capitalist societies and "[a]s a consequence, models built around dichotomous constituencies (Left vs. Right, labor vs. capital) in one dimension provide limited analytical leverage" (Beramendi, Häusermann, Kitschelt, & Kriesi 2015, p. 3). Different voter types demand programmatic linkages on different dimensions, and those who are dissatisfied with the mainstream parties' focus on an economically dominated left/right dimension – where Socialists, Social Democrats, Christian Democrats, Liberals, and Conservatives cover different positions along that dimension – find a "political home" with movement platform parties stressing, for instance, issues of environmental protection, regional independence, or immigration.

The origins of contemporary movement parties and the environment in which they find themselves outlined in the previous paragraphs also prevents movement (platform) parties from turning to alternative strategies which would reduce their programmatic links and deploy either a catch-all, segmented, or populist strategy in order to attract voters currently attached to one of the

electoral-professional parties. These three strategies are not attractive options because movement platform parties co-exist a) with a saturated party system and b) strong, professional movement organizations in civil society (Meyer & Tarrow 1998*b*). Due to the existing partisan competition movement platform parties chances of picking up new voters by diluting programmatic links to the movement would be extremely circumscribed, since voters satisfied with the mainstream parties and their programmatic focus already have a variety of parties from which to choose. It is not clear why one more option that is hard to distinguish from the other parties would induce mainstream party voters to switch their party preference. At the same time, cutting all links to the movements and diluting programmatic appeals will lead to the loss of most of the movement party's initial supporters. Thus the assumption that there is a trade-off between vote- and policy-seeking behavior is fallacious for movement platform parties (see also Adams et al. (2006, p. 514)) and these strategies are mutually reinforcing rather than conflictual for them.

Moreover strong movement organizations in civil society have the means to quickly inform core electorates about a party's performance on its core issues. These organizations will identify any attempt by a party to deviate from its core programmatic commitments by broadening their appeals. Thus SMOs have the means to incentivize large groups of core voters to punish movement platform parties' attempts to "escape" their programmatic niche by (threatening) abstention. In the same way they can counter attempts of movement platform parties of sending different signals to different groups in society (i.e. segmenting their appeals) or adopting a populist strategy by keeping core voters informed about these deviations from movement interests. Thus, cutting links to the movements and diluting programmatic appeals will lead to the loss of most of a movement

(platform) party's initial supporters. This is particularly true, since these parties' issue-focused core electorates are likely to be tuned in to the messages of SMOs working in the relevant sector.

It is unlikely that movement platform parties can make up this fast loss of core voters quickly enough by attracting new voters. This risk is even more severe because most movement platform parties are small and any significant loss of electoral support can endanger their parliamentary survival. Thus, with movement platform parties being locked into a programmatic electoral niche, movement organization elites are in a unique position to pressure movement platform parties to remain true to their issue focus, and SMOs, even in the absence of organizational links to the movement platform parties, hold strong sway over these parties. Accordingly, making the move towards another party model is not a winning strategy for most movement platform parties and situating themselves concisely in an ideological minority of issue-driven voters is a vote-maximizing choice for them.

This equilibrium is only shattered when mainstream parties weaken and allow (new) movement (platform) parties a path to pick up voters formerly attached to one of the mainstream parties by competing on the economic dimension, for instance when an external shock leads to widespread anti-establishment sentiments. Podemos in Spain has achieved this kind of breakthrough in the aftermath of the European sovereign debt crisis and exemplifies how movement platform parties can escape electoral niches and reach mainstream status when large numbers of voters become detached from traditional parties.[23] It is noteworthy that even under these circumstances it were mostly

[23] A so far hypothetical, alternative path to break the equilibrium would occur if the orthogonal (non-economic) dimension became more salient than the main, economic dimension for a significant number of voters, allowing movement platform parties to extend their niches.

new parties like Podemos or parties revitalized due to a renewed (programmatic) influx from social movements, like Syriza, that profited from the disillusionment with mainstream parties, rather than the pre-exiting movement platform parties, like Green parties, which remained locked into their issue dimension due to their core electorates and SMO pressure.

Why then, if movement parties are "trapped" in the movement platform model, do electoral-professional parties not successfully compete with these parties for the programmatically-driven voters? Mainstream parties too have to balance the expectations of their core electorate with potential gains that can be made by going after movement party voters. Developing and highlighting positions on new dimensions of competition risks losing some of their voters, who disagree with the (new) concrete policies. For example, many core supporters of Social Democratic parties with a preference for economic growth would be wary if those parties were to adopt environmental policies that would threaten growth and the jobs (perceived to be) tied to that growth. Furthermore, mainstream parties often face serious restrictions in their knowledge about the (potential) strength of a new movement party and the size of the electoral damage they might suffer from the new party (Hug 2001). At the same time winning over movement party voters is a long-term process as the credibility of an electoral-professional party to deliver on concrete policies is initially low. Voters will assume that if the position taken on the new issue conflicts with positions on the economic left/right divide, mainstream parties will always prioritize the latter over the former. Thus, current mainstream party leaders are faced with the certain loss of some voters and only long-term chances to attract new voters from a small programmatically-driven minority of voters. For most leaders, faced with short term concerns about reelection, this is hardly an attractive strat-

egy.

The situation for modern movement parties is thus fundamentally different from the party systems Social Democratic parties encountered in the late 19th century and 20th century (Bartolini 2000). When Social Democrats diluted their programmatic appeals to attract voters outside the working class, first the old, then the new middle class (Przeworski & Sprague 1986, pp. 40-45), the electoral-professional party model still had to be developed and their main electoral competition consisted of liberal and conservative parties still organized in elite party models (Duverger 1954, Katz & Mair 1995). Therefore Social Democrats faced little competition for voters (potentially) attracted to a catch-all party model, as the electoral marketplace was not yet saturated. They also had the considerable advantage of mobilizing newly enfranchised voters, whose demands created unoccupied ideological space into which the Social Democratic parties moved.[24] With full suffrage achieved, mobilizing newly enfranchised voters is not an option for newer parties with movement origins.

To summarize, movement platform parties' supply of programmatic linkages, which is inherent in their origins in social movements, is matched by a demand for these types of linkages from issue voters. This demand, in turn, was created by mainstream party developments towards electoral-professional models, which failed to provide these issue-specific programmatic linkages (on new dimensions). Social movement organizations have the ability to provide is-

[24]Because the incorporation of the working class ended the enfranchisement of new social classes, Lipset & Rokkan (1967) expected West European party systems to be frozen thereafter, since no new ideological, unoccupied space would become available. At least for Green parties it is possible to argue that societal changes cumulating in the rise of the new middle class (Kriesi 1989) provided a similar opening in the societal and ideological space. The concept and explanatory power of the new middle class for new social movements, however, is contested (see della Porta & Diani (2006, p. 55-64) for a summary of the debate and Dolezal (2010) for differences within the new middle class and their relationship to supporting Green parties).

sue voters with information about parties' commitments to their core issues and it is thus in movement platform parties' interest to sustain strong programmatic connections to the movement in order to avoid criticism from SMOs and retain their core electorate. That is, in the light of having to accept the loosening of organizational ties driven by SMO preferences, moving towards the movement platform party ideal type is the most attractive option for movement parties.

The following chapter will describe the data I collected to test the theoretical expectations laid out in this chapter and present an overview of the relevant movement (platform) party families.

CHAPTER 3

PARTY-MOVEMENT RELATIONS: FROM MOVEMENT TO MOVEMENT PLATFORM PARTIES

After the preceding chapters have introduced the puzzle and theoretical approach, this chapter will empirically verify the existence of the puzzle laid out above. Accordingly, this chapter will show that contemporary parties with movement roots are programmatically aligned, but organizationally separated from the movements in which they originated. The chapter will first explain the case selection for the in-depth study of four party-movement dyads and describe the data collected on those dyads. It then provides a synopsis of pre-1945 movement parties' evolution into mainstream, electoral-professional parties, which has set the expectations for movement party development in much of the political science literature. The remainder of the chapter contrasts this development with that of post-World War II movement parties. This part of the chapter starts with a historical overview of the Swedish and German Green parties, being exemplary cases of established movement platform parties, before another section summarizes the development of the Pirate parties in the same countries, which struggle to establish themselves as relevant actors. These sections draw on data from elite interviews, primary sources, and a survey of Swedish Green party members, as well as a number of existing datasets and secondary literature to show that these parties remain programmatically aligned with the movements that gave rise to them. The same data sources are employed to demonstrate that in spite of this programmatic alignment all four parties exist in clear organizational separation from the movements that gave rise to them. That is, along all three dimensions of a potential organizational connection (formal links, routinized interactions, and shared elite networks) links are

either completely absent or only maintained at an extremely limited level. The chapter furthermore provides evidence that not only the four parties studied in detail, but parties with post-World War II movement roots more generally (mainly Green, Pirate, regionalist, and radical right parties) have adopted the movement platform party model. A final section summarizes the findings by highlighting how the models of organizational connection to movements that parties employed in their evolution differ depending on whether a party originated from a movement before or after the Second World War.

Case Selection and Data

This project investigates how and why parties with social movement roots after 1945 have adopted the movement platform party model. For that purpose it draws on quantitative analyses of data on parties and voters across (Western) Europe, as well as detailed case studies of the nexus between Green parties and the environmental movement, along with Pirate parties and digital movements[1] in Germany and Sweden. The data from these case studies, including information collected through interviews with party and movement leaders, a party member survey, and participant observation is ideal for investigating how party and movement elites interact, since they allow me to analyze dyadic pairs of actors (movement platform party elites/movement elites in the movement that gave rise to that party). Thus, it is possible to identify the beliefs on which behavior is based and how that behavior is perceived by the other relevant actors.

[1] I use the term "digital movement" to denote organizations and activists focusing on issues of copyright reform, the protection of privacy, and generally information-related issues. This movement makes extensive use of electronic means of communication. Thus, the term reflects both the content and the most prominent form of activism. For more details on the movement, see below.

Among the advantages of the case study approach is its "capacity for addressing causal complexity," as well as the ability to "closely examine the hypothesized role of causal mechanisms in the context of individual cases" (George & Bennett 2005, p. 19). This dissertation draws on both of these strengths. First, it uses the four party-movement dyads to illuminate and explain the complex process of organizational separation between the parties and the movements which gave rise to them by analyzing the factors that led to that separation and the causal beliefs of party and movement elites that stabilize it (see chapter 4). Second, the dissertation traces the mechanisms that continue to programmatically connect the parties to the movements and allow movement platform parties to retain their core electorates in spite of their organizational separation from the movements (see chapters 5 and 6).

Focusing on these four party-movement dyads has several advantages. By selecting a movement platform party family at a relatively early point in its development (Pirate Parties) along with one that is well-established (Green Parties), the study includes parties that represent the variation along the dimension of party evolution towards a successfully established movement platform party. That is, the study focuses on one party family, the Pirates, whose prospects were unclear at the time the research was conducted and who struggled to establish itself and another party family, the Greens, that has successfully completed the transition to a stable movement platform party model. Thus, this project draws on a diverse case selection technique (Gerring 2007, pp. 97-101) and in that way guards against bias introduced by different stages of party development.[2] This will prevent assigning causal importance to factors that are present not only

[2]Of course not all potential movement parties are eventually founded and some social movements abstain from creating a party. As discussed in chapter 2 this question is subject to a large literature on new parties and is beyond the scope of this project, which addresses only movement parties that have actually been created and possess a relevant electoral potential.

in those parties that have successfully adopted the movement platform party model, but also with respect to those still in the process of transition. In that way the project also avoids exclusively selecting parties that have been successful in establishing themselves and prevents "survivor bias."

Second, including parties that focus on two fundamentally different issue niches (the environment and information-related issues) ensures that inferences about the development of movement platform parties are not unique to the structure of social movements and/or parties in one issue area.[3] Third, broadening the study to include the parties from two different countries guards against drawing conclusions based on the peculiarities of one national context. Sweden and Germany were selected because they a) were two of the few countries that had both electorally relevant Green and Pirate Parties[4] and b) allowed a most-similar cases design (Seawright & Gerring 2008, pp. 304-306) with respect to potential moderating institutional variables. Both countries are established multiparty democracies with electoral systems that translate votes proportionally into seats for the lower chamber.[5] Furthermore, both countries have a simi-

[3]This, of course, does not automatically mean that these results are representative for and travel to other movement platform parties, for instance those originating in regionalist or radical right, nationalist movements. It does, however, make generalizability more likely by identifying the factors that matter in at least two, fundamentally different party-movement dyads, for many of which there are no obvious reasons why they should not travel beyond Green and Pirate parties. I will return to the issue of generalizability and to areas for further research in chapter 7.

[4]The other countries in which the Pirates and Greens achieved some form of supranational, national, or significant representation on a state level are Iceland, where both parties hold seats in the national parliament, and the Czech Republic, where both parties are represented in the upper chamber.

[5]This is the case even though the German electoral system is technically a mixed system with elements of both majoritarian and proportional representation (Norris 1997). Proportional electoral systems dominate the European continent and thus Sweden and Germany are also representative of most countries in Europe with respect to the electoral system, which is a central variable shaping party strategy. This increases the likelihood that the results travel beyond the particular case studies conducted here. For a study that investigates small party behavior, in particular that of Green parties, in European countries with majoritarian electoral systems (France and the United Kingdom), see Spoon (2011).

lar electoral threshold that parties need to overcome to win representation in the national parliament (four percent in Sweden (Larsson & Bäck 2008, pp. 140-141) and five percent in Germany (Rudzio 2003, p. 198)[6]). Thus, these countries are similar with respect to central variables that potentially affect party strategies and behavior with one exception: federalism. While Sweden is a centralized country, Germany's states have governments and parliaments with powers in the areas of education and cultural policies, as well as the state administration (Rudzio 2003, p. 373). That is, movements and parties work in different opportunity structures[7] and in the German case, movements have, for instance, the possibility of engaging with state parties and governments, while parties similarly need to divide their resources between the different levels. Thus, drawing on data from both countries allows the study to rule out the possibility that a federal structure influences how and why parties with movement roots transform into movement platform parties or to identify the ways in which it does matter.[8]

Fourth, the study focuses on empirically important cases. The German Greens, who participated in a national government from 1998-2005 and as of June 2017 are represented in the government in 10 of Germany's 16 states, are one of the most successful Green parties. Additionally, the Swedish Pirates were the original impetus for Pirate parties across the world after their 2009 break-

[6]In Germany it is technically possible to win a district directly and gain a Member of Parliament in that way, independent of the national results of a party. Furthermore, winning three seats in this way guarantees a parliamentary group proportional to the vote won nationally, even if it is below five percent (Rudzio 2003, p. 198). The German Greens, however, have never won more than one district directly and the Pirate Party has never been close to winning an electoral district directly, so that this way of winning representation was not a serious strategic option for either party.

[7]See Tarrow (2011, pp. 26-28) for an overview and Kitschelt (1986) for an application to the European anti-nuclear movement.

[8]The results of this study suggest that a federal structure does not fundamentally alter the way in which movement platform parties and movements interact or the strategic calculus of elites on both sides.

through in the European elections. Fifth and finally, because of the German Green Party's success there is a large literature on the party which allows the analysis to draw on extensive secondary sources about the party's history and comparing its current relationship with the environmental movement with earlier stages of its' development.

The data collection for these case studies included 74 interviews with party elites in the four parties, as well as movement leaders in the environmental and digital movements in Sweden and Germany. The interviews were guided by 10 questions that focused on both the interactions of parties and movements in general, as well as on three potential arenas of interaction – electoral campaigns, platform formulation processes, and elite recruitment – in particular. Interview partners in political parties were also selected on these three potential arenas of interaction (i.e., those likely to be involved in planning and executing national campaigns, formulating the platform, and/or having oscillated between movement and party in their careers). When sending interview requests to movement organizations I requested an interview with the person in the organization most familiar with interactions with political parties. The interviews were recorded and subsequently transcribed and coded using a combination of hypothesis, structural, and causation coding (Saldãna 2013) in Atlas.ti.

The following analyses also draw on participant observation at Green party conventions in Germany and Sweden (both in 2014), two Pirate party conventions in Germany (in 2013 and 2014), and at Almedalensveckan 2014, a yearly Swedish political event on the island of Gotland. Additionally I fielded a survey among members of the Swedish Green party in 2014, including questions on their activism with in the party as well as in movements. A detailed description

of all data sources can be found in the appendix.

From Movement to Mainstream: Social and Christian Democratic Parties

As a first step in analyzing party-movement relationship, this chapter turns to the historical experience of Social and Christian Democrats, whose transformation into mainstream parties has set the expectations for movement party evolution in Europe.

Social Democracy in Europe

I n the second half of the 19th century, Socialist and Social Democratic parties[9] started to appear across the European continent to represent the interests of the growing working class. They grew out of the labor and trade union movements and "were, in general, the extension of or parallel to organizations that were already active in the corporate channel [i.e. unions]" (Bartolini 2000, p. 244). The order in which parties and movement organizations developed differed between countries; while in Great Britain, for instance, the Labour Party was founded by the unions, Social Democrats in the Netherlands formed connections to the labor movement after the inception of the party (Gallagher, Laver, & Mair 2011, p. 240). The "prevalent" relationship between unions and parties "was interlocking, with overlapping ancillary organizations, leadership, and activities" (Bartolini 2000, p. 256). Thus Socialist parties and the labor move-

[9] I use Socialist and Social Democratic parties interchangeably in this dissertation.

ment established strong formal and routinized informal links between their organizations, as well as a shared a network of elites. In Belgium, for instance, "[u]ntil World War II, candidates and party figures were almost exclusively trade unionists" (Bartolini 2000, p. 258) and the Swedish movement established collective membership in the SAP and the LO, Sweden's main union organization (Åmark 1992, p. 68).

With respect to ideology, as Sassoon (1996) points out "there was no necessary causal link between the rise of an organized labour movement and the ideology of socialism" (Sassoon 1996, p. 5), but in continental Europe some form of Marxist socialism dominated the movements as well as the parties they spawned (see also (Bartolini 2000, pp. 69-86)).[10] That is, most Socialist and Social Democratic parties aimed to overcome capitalism and pushed for a fundamental restructuring of societies achieved by means of a "dictatorship of the proletariat." While "[b]efore 1914 there was very little difference between the orthodox Marxist position represented by [Karl] Kautsky, and those, such as Lenin, who after 1914 would denounce him as a social-patriot and renegade" (Sassoon 1996, p. 20), a broad increase in the working class population and issues with incorporating them into the movement, the First World War, and the Russian Revolution in 1917 led to a radicalization of the movement (Bartolini 2000, p. 87). This radicalization precipitated a split between the reformist and revolutionary wings of the movement and led to the breakaway of communist parties in many countries (Bartolini 2000, pp. 97-109).

Not only did the Socialist and Social Democratic parties adopt reformist ide-

[10]The notable exception in Europe was always the British Labour party, which was dominated by a less radical "trade unionism" (Bartolini 2000, pp. 70-72) and only after 1918 "unequivocally espoused socialism when it adopted a new constitution and programme that year" (Hamilton 1989, p. 61).

ologies, but they also moved to further moderate their programs afterwards. This move away from a more fundamental restructuring of society was motivated by the search for new electoral allies beyond the working class, which had stopped growing well before reaching more than 50% of the population in West European countries (Przeworski & Sprague 1986). In particular, the rise of the "new middle classes" of (white-collar) employees incentivized this move (Przeworski & Sprague 1986, p. 43), and the core of the new programmatic orientation, "the democratization of society, the welfare state, and the regulation of the labour market," had already been foreshadowed in the German Social Democratic Party's 1891 platform (Sassoon 1996, p. 24). Thus, these parties abandoned even a reformist strategy towards (a socialist) structural transformation and with it the "programmatic nationalization of the means of production" (Przeworski 1985, p. 38). Przeworski & Sprague (1986) famously argued that these moves weakened Socialists' ability to mobilize along the class cleavage and thus their ability to challenge capitalism in a fundamental way. More recently, Social Democrats in Europe, under the influence of the "Third Way," have moved even further to the political center (and median voter), creating additional challenges for maintaining long-term voter attachments (Karreth, Polk, & Allen 2012).

The extremely strong organizational ties between Socialist parties and trade unions have been strained and severed over time. Moschonas (2002) argues that "[t]here is no doubt that a ubiquitous and progressive loosening of the links between socialist parties and trade unions is currently in progress" (Moschonas 2002, p. 132). In most West European countries connections between the parties and trade unions were loosened and many formal organizational ties completely abandoned. The timing of these changes varied between

parties, but they often occurred (long) after the parties' programmatic transformations. In Belgium, for instance, the party cut its formal links with the affiliated trade union organization right after World War II (Delwit 2013, p. 62), while in Denmark a similar process only occurred in the 1990s (Christensen 2013, p. 96). In fact, based on a recent overview of Social Democratic parties across Europe (Waele, Escalona, & Viera 2013), the situation in Denmark, where the relationships between the LO, the country's trade union congress, and the Social Democratic Party are "complicated as LO is generally seen as Social Democratic-leaning while the party maintains its political independence of the trade union movement" (Christensen 2013, p. 96) describes the situation in many West European countries well. In sum, while ties between Social Democrats have loosened and many formal connections have been severed, some of the once extremely close ties remain, in particular with respect to informal coordination.

Christian Democrats in Europe

Social science has paid more attention to movements and parties of the left than the right (Kitschelt 1994, p. 1) and that is especially true for the sparse research conducted on the movement roots of several Christian Democratic parties (Kalyvas & van Kersbergen 2010). While in some countries, like Sweden (Larsson & Bäck 2008, pp. 87-88), a confessional party did not establish itself until the second half of the 20th century, the Christian Democratic parties in Austria, Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands, and Italy had their roots in social movements of the late 19th century. The Catholic church initiated mass mobilization in defense of the role of religion and the church in society and politics

against the rising tides of liberal democracy,[11] but the formation of confessional parties from the movements occurred against the preferences of Church leaders (Kalyvas 1996). The church had only reluctantly turned to electoral forms of pushing back against the state and intended for the shift from civil society tactics to be temporary (Kalyvas 1998). Instead, church leaders' concerns about losing control over these organizations proved well-founded, and the initial success of pro-church coalitions empowered activists in the movement (organizations), who formed permanent Christian Democratic parties (Kalyvas 1996).

Thus, from the very beginning Christian Democratic parties had extremely strained relationships with the movement organizations spawned by the Church and the Church itself and, in fact, found themselves in competition for members with the Church (Kalyvas 1996, p. 174). Accordingly, an independent movement could not fully develop, as it would have stood in between the Church and the Christian Democratic parties as competing actors. Nevertheless the Catholic lay organizations were strongly connected to the Christian Democratic parties, which often directly arose out of these organizations, transformed for electoral purposes. In Belgium, for instance, the leader of the largest lay Catholic organization rose to be Prime Minister in 1884 (Kalyvas 1996, pp. 190-192).

The conflict with the Church also shaped the ideological profiles of Christian Democratic parties:

> [C]onfessional parties resented the church's attempts to control and subdue them. They fought for their autonomy and shifted their political priorities away from clerical issues [...] Paradoxically, the end result of their emergence was the gradual irrelevance of religion in

[11] Accordingly these parties, despite the collective term "Christian Democracy" that we apply to them, often had anti-democratic elements (Warner 2012, p. 260).

western European politics (Kalyvas 1998, p. 308).

Christian Democracy became an integrative force across class and other divisions (Kalyvas & van Kersbergen 2010, p. 187). It did so by not focusing on a coherent (and by nature exclusionary) ideology and by integrating "Roman Catholic doctrine" in a way that "aimed beyond the scope of traditional 'political Catholicism' and even to alter it" (Pridham 1976, p. 147). These origins laid an ideological groundwork that eased the transition to a catch-all profile, allowing the Christian Democrats to become the conservative counterpart to the transformed center-left Social Democratic parties.

In sum, both the Social and Christian Democratic parties in Europe were founded in fundamental ideological opposition to the state in its contemporary form and over time deradicalized to become integrated in it. Later in their development, they also shed most of their organizational links to the movements in which they originated and took the profile of an electoral-professional party, which included de-emphasizing a clear ideology (Panebianco 1988, p. 264).

The following sections will show that the development of two dominant center-left and center-right party families in Europe from movement to electoral-professional parties stands in stark contrast to the evolution of contemporary movement parties towards the movement platform party model. Parties with movement roots founded after the Second World War quickly left their organizational connections to movements behind, but maintained an ideological profile that remains in line with movement demands. Compared to their Social and Christian Democratic predecessors, these parties were also much less successful in attracting voters. The following two sections will first discuss the two party-movement dyads studied in detail (Swedish and German Greens and

Pirates and the "associated" environmental and digital movements), before another section is dedicated to introducing each European party family with post-World War II movements roots (i.e. Green, Pirate, regionalist, and radical right parties).

Green Parties and Environmental Movements in Sweden and Germany: From Movement to Movement Platform Parties

The Green parties in Sweden and Germany both originated in their respective country's environmental and anti-nuclear movements in the early 1980s. This section will present a short overview of first the Swedish and then the German party's development, before providing evidence that these parties have shed their organizational, but maintained their programmatic links to the movements, i.e. that they have adopted the movement platform model.

Sweden: Miljöpartiet de Gröna

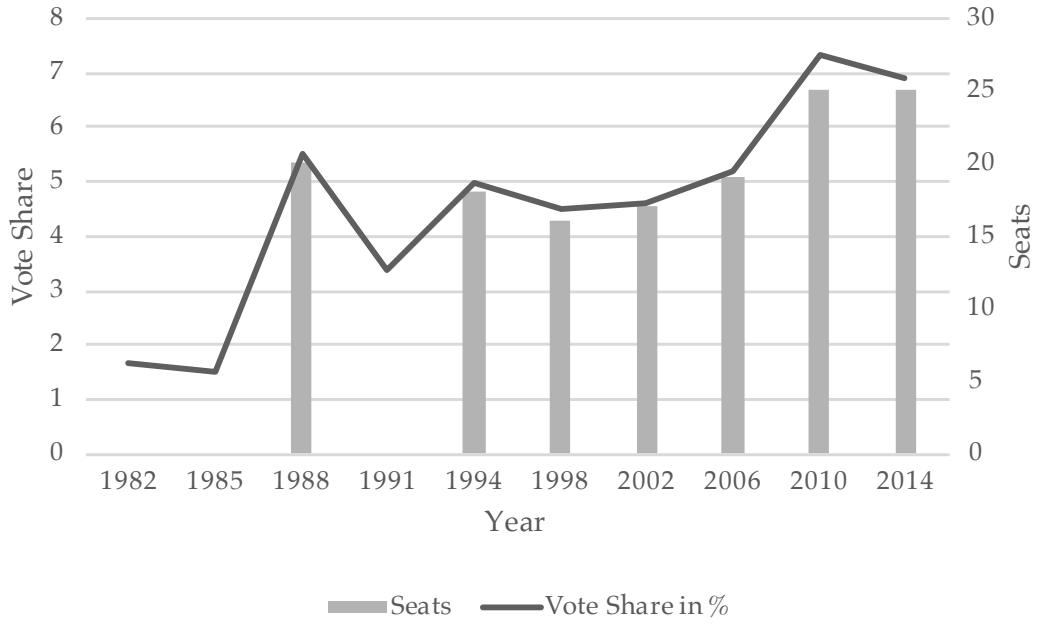
As in many other European countries Sweden first experienced bird and animal protection efforts in the second half of the 19th century, about a century before a new environmental movement was mobilized during the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s (Boström 2008). The environmental movement also spawned the core of anti-nuclear mobilization during the 1970s (Jamison, Eyerman, Cramer, & Læssøe 1995, p. 41). The Swedish Green party, Miljöpartiet de Gröna (Green Environmental Party), grew out of these movements after a 1980 referendum on nuclear energy (Rüdig 1990, p. 328) in which the most anti-nuclear energy

alternative gained almost 40% of the vote, but was defeated by a compromise option (Bennulf & Holmberg 1990, p. 167). As a result, movement leaders from "The People Campaign Against Nuclear Power," the group organizing the anti-nuclear forces in the referendum, hoped that there was electoral potential for a party that took up the issue and founded Miljöpartiet in 1981 (Bennulf & Holmberg 1990, p. 167). Despite being founded by movement activists and leaders, social movement organizations themselves did not directly participate in the party founding process (interview 020308).

The new party consciously adopted a structure that diffused power throughout the party in response to the experiences of Social Democratic parties (Gaiter 1991, pp. 24-25), whose drift away from their original setup towards electoral-professional parties (Panebianco 1988) was seen as a result of the empowerment of an organizational elite (Michels 1915). This was reflected in creating accessible and democratic executive bodies, as well as in the decision to have two, not one, party leaders and in referring to party leaders as Språkrör, spokespersons.[12] Moreover, MP created autonomous sub-national party organizations, far-reaching voting rights for members, and relied on rotation of offices (Burchell 2002, pp. 108-110). Thus, the party made use of both decentralization and some non-hierarchical elements in its organizational structure. Even though over time Miljöpartiet has "professionalized" and adjusted its structures accordingly, which includes the streamlining of the national party organization and relaxing rotation rules for office, it retains a participatory internal structure (Burchell 2001*a*, p. 131). Members, for instance, continue to elect regional and national representatives and all members can participate, though not all vote, in national party conventions (Burchell 2001*a*, p. 130). Moreover, Miljöpartiet's

[12]In order to avoid confusion with public relations spokespersons I will continue to refer tor Miljöpartiet's two Språkrör as party leaders, rather than spokespersons.

local and regional parties remain "relatively autonomous" from national-level decisions (Burchell 2001*a*, p. 130).



Source: ParlGov database (Döring & Manow 2016)

Figure 3.1: Electoral Results: Swedish Green Party

Electorally, taking environmental and nuclear issues to the ballot box was rewarded with little electoral success at first, as figure 3.1 illustrates. It took the Greens until the 1988 election to overcome the Swedish four percent threshold for representation and enter parliament. This election is often referred to as the "environmental election" in Sweden (Bennulf 1995, p. 128), because concerns about nuclear energy had increased significantly in the aftermath of the Chernobyl disaster (Holmberg 1988),[13] and the environment more generally became a central issue in the election (46% of respondents in the Swedish Election Study identified it as one of the most important issues (Bennulf & Holmberg 1990, p. 165)). The party lost parliamentary representation again at the next election in

[13]For an overview of the development of Swedish nuclear policy in the aftermath of Chernobyl, see Nohrstedt (2008).

1991, but has since returned to parliament with relatively stable electoral results that show a small upward trend peaking at 7.3% of the vote in 2010. The Swedish Green Party, together with the Left Party, supported a Social Democratic minority government between 1998 and 2006 (Bale & Bergman 2006) and it has been in a minority coalition government with the Social Democrats since 2014.[14]

The Swedish Greens continue to operate in an environment with an active environmental movement that has institutionalized over time and in which the Swedish Society for Nature Conservation (Naturskyddsfreningen; short: SNF), the World Wildlife Fund (WWF), and Greenpeace play the central roles (Boström 2008). While the level of environmental protest has declined since the late 1980s, it remains part of the repertoire of a more institutionalized movement[15] that has moved into a new phase in which it integrates "environmental concern into social and cultural life more generally" (Jamison & Ring 2003, p. 232). In this phase a separation of work between environmental organizations seems to have emerged in which some, like the WWF, act more like interest groups, while others retain stronger contentious elements and (continue to) act more like social movement organizations, such as the People Campaign against Nuclear Power/Nuclear Weapons (Folkkampanjen mot Kärnkraft-Kärnvapen).

[14]Miljöpartiet had gathered previous government and coalition experience on various occasions at the local and municipal level (Burchell 2001*b*).

[15]The SNF has been the leading group organizing these protest since the 1980s and throughout the early and mid-1990s (Jamison & Ring 2003, p. 226).

Germany: Bündnis '90/Die Grünen

In Germany, as in Sweden, the origins of concern with environmental issues lie in the 19th century (Markham 2008*a*, p. 44). The League for Bird Protection (Bund für Vogelschutz), which transformed over time into one of the country's central environmental organizations, the Nature And Biodiversity Conservation Union (Naturschutzbund Deutschland; short: NABU), was founded in 1899 (Markham 2008*a*, p. 220). After (West) Germany's post-World War II economic recovery, interest in environmental issues received a boost and activists organized themselves in local citizens' initiatives focused on environmental and anti-nuclear activities, which were soon loosely connected through the Bundesverband Bürgerinitiativen Umweltschutz (Federal Alliance of Citizens' Initiatives for Environmental Protection; short: BBU) (Markham 2008*b*, pp. 95-96). The nuclear debate, especially, led to strong and direct contentious action and police pushback that one observer describes as deploying "almost civil-war-like means, at the height of the conflict in 1976 and 1977" (Wagner 1994, p. 264).

This mobilization led movement leaders and activists to consider the electoral route, which for some also held the promise of reducing and avoiding the violent clashes with the state that accompanied direct action (Hoffmann 2002, p. 68). As in the Swedish case discussed above, attempts to directly involve SMOs in the party founding process, especially the BBU, proved unsuccessful (Raschke 2001, p. 708). The first green, rainbow, and alternative lists emerged to contest local and state elections in the late 1970s. The federal German Green party, Bündnis '90/Die Grünen (Alliance '90/The Greens),[16] grew out of these

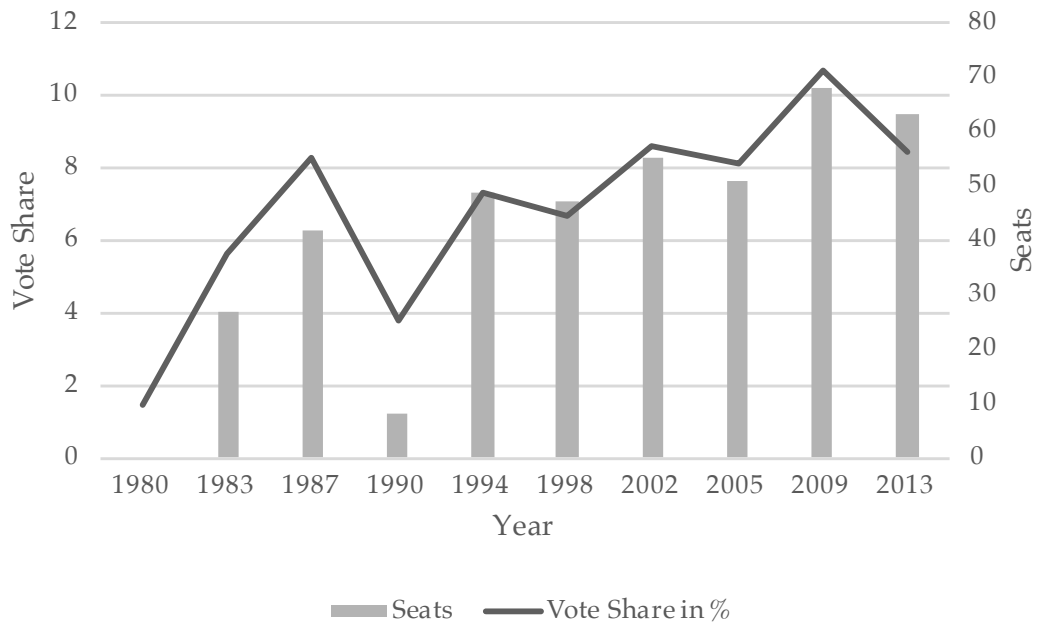
[16]The party was founded as "Die Grünen" in West Germany and merged with "Bündnis '90," a group of civil rights and pro-democracy activists from East Germany in 1993, after the country's reunification.

lists and was established in 1980, with a strong influx from the environmental and anti-nuclear movements, as well as feminists and groups from the extreme left (the so-called K-Gruppen) (Hoffmann 2002, p. 68-69). This, in comparison to its Swedish counterpart, broader and more anti-establishment focused movement base of the German Greens led to a more radical party (Jahn 1993, Müller-Rommel 1985). The contemporary German Greens, however, have evolved away from their "anti-party party" approach (Abedi 2004, p. 48) and are not fundamentally dissimilar from Miljöpartiet.[17]

In terms of its organizational setup, the party adopted a structure that valued "grassroots-democracy," but professionalized over time without losing the distinctiveness of its participatory party model (Frankland 2008). As in the case of their Swedish counterpart, Bündnis '90/Die Grünen retained an important role for party members and local party organizations, while the largest departures from the grassroots model can be observed with respect to the party's leadership structure (Frankland 2008, pp. 36-37), where, for instance, rules that prohibited holding internal party posts at the same time as elected office were loosened (Frankland 2008, p. 34).

As figure 3.2 illustrates the German Greens' electoral trends after entering parliament in 1983 mirror Miljöpartiet's experience. The party fell short of Germany's five percent threshold in the first election after reunification. As op-

[17]Due to their more varied movements roots, the German Greens, more than their Swedish counterparts, mix their focus on environmental issues with other concerns of the New Left, like women's rights and nuclear proliferation (Hino 2012, pp. 17-31). They are thus often classified as pursuing "rainbow," as opposed to "purist" green politics (see Rüdig (1985) for the origins of that distinction). The (new social) movements mobilizing around some of these other issues, however, like the women's and peace movements, have demobilized more and institutionalized less than the environmental movement. Accordingly, their abilities to shape the Green Party's development are extremely circumscribed and are beyond the scope of this study. Future studies should investigate how aggregating several, as opposed to just one movement, in a political party influences party development and party-movement relationships.



Source: ParlGov database (Döring & Manow 2016)

Figure 3.2: Electoral Results: German Green Party

posed to the Swedish Green experience of completely losing parliamentary representation, however, the party indirectly retained eight Members of Parliament (MPs), because a common list of the new Eastern German Greens and "Bündnis '90," a group of civil rights and pro-democracy activists from East Germany, gained 6.1% of the vote in the territory of the former German Democratic Republic for which special rules applied in this first post-reunification election (Klein & Falter 2003, pp. 46-47).[18] The party, however, rebounded at the next election and its electoral results have shown a slight upward trend since then. The Greens have been part of state government coalitions with all other major parties in Germany[19] and in 1998 formed a federal governing coalition with the Social Democratic Party (Lee 2000), which won reelection once before being

[18]The West German Greens merged with their East German counterpart the day after the federal election of 1990 and with "Bündnis '90" in 1993 (Klein & Falter 2003, pp. 47-48).

[19]That is the Christian Democrats, Social Democrats, Liberals, and Left.

defeated at the polls in 2005.

Similar to the Swedish case, the German environmental and anti-nuclear movements ran out of steam and mass-mobilization has decreased dramatically since the 1980s (Markham 2008*b*, pp. 101-103). At the same time, environmental issues became increasingly less polarized and SMOs professionalized (Markham 2008*a*, pp. 153-163). The contemporary movement is represented by a large number of environmental movement organizations of which the NABU, Greenpeace, the Bund für Umwelt und Naturschutz (Friends of the Earth Germany; short BUND), and the WWF are the most important (Markham 2008*a*, p. 219). While protests have become less contentious and their number declined in the early 1990s, they rebounded later in that decade and retained a strong focus on energy and nuclear issues (Rucht & Roose 2004, pp. 84-89).

In sum, both the Swedish and German Greens have established themselves in their respective party systems, while the movements around them have professionalized and institutionalized, but remained active. The following subsections will show that parties and movements have shed most of the limited organizational connections that originally linked them, but remain strongly aligned programmatically.

Organizational Separation: Over-time Divergence

From the beginning, the (formal) organizational connections that Green Parties built to the environmental and anti-nuclear movements were much weaker than, for instance, those that tied together the trade union movement and the early Socialist parties in Europe together. There were some connections between

the German Green Party and the environmental movement, however, which took the form of the so-called Eco-Funds (Raschke 2001, p. 505-507). These funds collected financial resources acquired by the party and used them to support grassroots movement projects, like setting up grocery stores specializing in organic food. These funds, however, ceased to exist in the 1990s (Raschke (2001, p. 507); interview 010305). The Swedish Greens had even less of a formal organizational connection to the movement, and a former leader of the party described that situation as follows:

> it proved very difficult to base a new political party on the movements directly [...] [S]o we started without the movements directly, but of course a lot of individuals active in these movements also joined this new project. (interview 020308)

This partially reflects the fact that the Swedish environmental movement had an early parliamentary orientation in which many movement leaders were already attached to other political parties (Jamison et al. 1995, pp. 59-60). The movement's reluctance to build organizational links with parties has remained, and later attempts to build these connections, for instance, by bringing them in as co-founders of the think-tank Miljöpartiet set up in 2005, failed (interview 020306).

Thus, formal links between the party and movement were absent or vanished in the early years of the parties' development. But in neither the Swedish nor the German case have they been replaced by routinized informal interactions. Movement organizations consistently stress their commitment to a non-partisan approach. In the interviews conducted for this project 88.2% of interviewed environmental SMO leaders highlighted this approach, described a preference for staying away from party politics altogether, or rejected the term

"cooperation" with respect to political parties. As one movement leader summarized:

> On principle, we do not engage in cooperation with parties. We have rather strong guiding principles of non-partisanship, which are important to us. [...] We also did have requests from parties, whether they could distribute certain flyers from us [...] at their events and we do not do that on principle. (interview 010411)

Moreover, beyond this general distance from party politics, environmental organizations take particular care not to be seen as being connected to their country's Green party[20] (interviews 010406, 020301, 020302). While informal interactions exist, for instance initiated by MPs' efforts to seek advice regarding parliamentary motions, they are not routinized in Sweden: "I would say eight out of 10 contacts or so are spontaneous. When I decide five minutes before that I need to get a hold of them" (interview 020302; similar 020305, 020308). In Germany some limited routinized and non-public(ized) interactions exist, since the party invites the central environmental movement organizations for a meeting "once or twice a year without a specific cause" (interview 010305). But the frequency of these interactions is much reduced compared to patterns in the party's early days (interviews 010301, 010308). While, for instance, the movement and party were once closely connected with respect to mobilizing for protest, today politicians are not welcome as speakers at those protests (interview 010301), and cooperation for the purposes of mobilization is organized in larger alliances that often include several parties and organizations, allowing the SMOs to avoid a close association with one particular party (interview 010306).

The organizational distance is particularly large during electoral campaigns

[20] I will analyze the movements' reasoning for this approach in chapter 4.

when SMOs become even less willing to engage in informal and cooperative contacts. More than two-thirds (70.6%) of interviewed Green party and environmental movement leaders indicated that interactions between them, or movements and parties more generally, reach a nadir during election campaigns. As a German Member of Parliament stated: "[it] has become well-established that one does not make strategic arrangements during electoral campaigns" (interview 010304). This is in line with McAdam and Tarrow's (2013) finding that elections and movements in Europe have become increasingly decoupled (McAdam & Tarrow 2013, p. 341).

Finally, the third element of an organizational connection, a shared network of elites, is also absent. A former member of the German parliament described party and movement elites as "rather separated":

> One is of course maybe a member of NABU or BUND. But one has either an identity as a Green, that is working in a party, [...] or I consider myself a representative of an environmental organization [...] Even if I am a member of both. And I know few who run counter to that, so to say. (interview 010308)

A former leader of the Swedish Greens described this separation in a similar way:

> I mean most of us are members [of environmental organizations]. [...] But I am an absolutely non-active member [...] And I think that is probably the same for those who are in parliament and in the party central board and so on. Most of them are not at the same time in the central board of any of these organizations. (interview 020308)

The data from the party member survey in Sweden support this conclusion. More than three quarters of the surveyed members (76.2%) reported that they

spent more time working for the party than for the movement. Only 14.3% of respondents spent equal time on their party and movement activities and thus could be characterized as truly being rooted in both the party and movement.[21]

Thus, the relationship between environmental movements and the two Green Parties has shifted from the early days in which the same person could be a representative of both the movement and the party. In those days of a shared elite network, the same person would discuss the same policies and issues at both party and movement meetings, described by a German Green as a "game of ping-pong" (interview 010302). These kinds of interactions have ceased to exist (interview 010302).

On the staff level, however, some overlap continues to exist. In both the German and Swedish parties members of the staff were recruited from movement organizations or went on to work for an SMO after being employed by the party (interviews 010306, 010308, 020301, 020307). But even this overlap is heavily circumscribed. In both Sweden and Germany many SMOs expect those working for them not to engage in party-political activities or at least not in party activities above the local level (interviews 010402, 010413, 020401). Greenpeace Germany, for instance, does not hire party members, even if they are not active, for positions in which policy-relevant work is conducted or which represent the organization in the media (interview 010411).

In sum, formal connections between the Green parties and the environmental and anti-nuclear movements were weak to begin with and have vanished over time, without being replaced by either a shared set of elites or routinized

[21]Similar results are obtained if the analysis is limited to party members that were active in the environmental and/or anti-nuclear movement, as the core movements spawning the party. Most members focus on the party (69.3%), while the number of those splitting their time equally between party and movement is small (16.8%).

(informal) interactions.

Programmatic Alignment

While parties and movements have organizationally gone their separate ways, they remain closely aligned programmatically. Both sides have programmatically developed in similar ways over time and the Green parties' focus on environmental issues remains strong.

From the beginning the Swedish environmental movement was characterized by a pragmatic attitude and over time it has adopted "an eco-modernist discourse" (Boström 2008, p. 234). The Green party similarly has increasingly become more amenable to seeing economic growth and environmental protection as compatible (Elander 2000). In Germany, by contrast, both the movement and party were more radical in the beginning (Jahn 1993). However, with the passing of time, as in Sweden, both the environmental movement and the Green party moderated their positions (Markham 2008*b*, Talshir 2002).

Moderating their issue positions, however, by no means indicated that Miljöpartiet and Die Grünen had moved away from the environment as their central policy concern (Sundström 2011, Blühdorn 2009). The Swedish Greens, for example, ran their 2014 national election campaign under the slogan "Policy must be warmer. Not the climate"[22] (Miljöpartiet de Gröna 2014, p. 2). Data on the programmatic orientation of political parties from the Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES),[23], summarized in table 3.1, further illustrates this continued fo-

[22]Swedish: "Politiken måste bli varmare. Inte klimatet" (Miljöpartiet de Gröna 2014, p. 2).

[23]The CHES (Bakker, Edwards, Hooghe, Jolly, Koedam, Kostelka, Marks, Polk, Rovny, Schumacher, Steenbergen, Vachudova, & Zilovic 2015, Bakker, DeVries, Edwards, Hooghe, Jolly,

cus on the environment. The tables summarizes information from the two most recent waves of the survey (2010 and 2014) on the salience the Swedish and German Green parties assigned to the environment, as well as on the positions these parties took on the issue. Higher values indicate higher salience and less pro-environmental positions respectively.

Table 3.1: Programmatic Orientation of Miljöpartiet and Die Grünen

Country	Party	Salience Environment (2010)	Position Environment (2010)	Most Important Issue (2014)	Position Environment (2014)
Sweden	Miljöpartiet	8.86	1.07	Environment	1.45
	Other Parties	5.31	4.83	0	4.97
Germany	Die Grünen	9.33	2.33	Environment	0.37
	Other Parties	5.39	5.59	0	4.80

Data Source: CHES; Salience: 0-10, with 10 being the highest salience; Position 0-10, with 0 being the most pro-environmental positions. Data for other parties are the means for the other parliamentary parties and the number of times another parliamentary party focused on the environment as its most important issue, respectively.

The data show that in both Sweden and Germany the Green parties are focused on the environment, which remains their most important issue and enjoys extremely high salience.[24] Moreover, they exhibit extremely pro-environmental positions.[25]

Marks, Polk, Rovny, Steenbergen, & Vachudova 2015) collects data on parties' issue positions and their salience to these parties through expert surveys. I rely on data from the 2010 and 2014 waves of the survey, for which 343 (2010) and 337 (2014) experts evaluated 237 (2010) and 268 (2014) parties, respectively.

[24]In the CHES 10 indicates the highest possible salience of an issue, measured on a 0-10 scale. Salience was not included in the 2014 wave, while the most important issue item was not part of the 2010 wave.

[25]The CHES measures the position on a 0-10 point scale with 0 corresponding to "Strongly supports environmental protection even at the cost of economic growth."

Table 3.1 also summarizes the average salience and positions regarding the environment for all parties represented in the national parliaments of Sweden and Germany respectively. This data demonstrates that the Greens' issue-profile is unique as the remaining parliamentary parties pay much less attention to the issue and take positions more orientated towards economic growth. No parliamentary party exists, either in Sweden or Germany, that places higher salience on the environment or takes a more pro-environmental position than the country's Green party.[26]

Party leaders confirm the impression that the Greens highly value their programmatic connection to the environmental and anti-nuclear movements. A Swedish Green MP stated with respect to the SNF, the country's central environmental organization, "[W]e are on the same side" (interview 020305), and a former leader described the relationship as follows: "It's not always that we think exactly the same, but usually we end up being quite close to each other" (interview 020307). It is also noteworthy that the Green parties seek particular programmatic closeness to movement organizations when they face difficult decisions. The German Greens consulted closely with central SMOs during the run-up to a crucial vote on a nuclear energy phase-out (interview 010412). Along the same lines, the Swedish Greens anticipated that if they were to participate in government and could implement a nuclear phase-out they would need to establish a similarly close relationship (interview 020307).

The survey of Miljöpartiet's members provides further evidence of the close

[26]That is, in both countries the Greens remain niche parties (Meguid 2008) though the size of their issue niche might vary over time depending of the positions other parties take (Meyer & Miller 2015). Note, however, that the argument developed in this dissertation does not depend on movement platform parties being niche parties. Movement platform parties are defined by the absence of an organizational connection and a retained programmatic connection to a movement, not by being the only party that highlights the issue. See chapter 2 for a discussion of research on niche parties and how it relates to movement platform parties.

programmatic alignment of the party and movements, with the vast majority of respondents (87.3%) indicating that they had never perceived the goals or strategies of the party to be in conflict with NGOs or movements that they were active in.[27] One respondent stated that: "A lot of what was proposed in programs and propositions from the party originated in the environmental movement."

Pirate Parties and Digital Movements in Sweden and Germany: Emergence as Movement Platform Parties

The two Pirate parties originated in social movement activity focused on increasing privacy, changing copyright law, and more generally on issues that stem from the increasingly central role information plays in contemporary societies. Questions about file sharing and copyrights in a digital world often were an early focus of the movement. While at first glance this might seem like a relatively narrow issue, and it has so far, as we will see below, mobilized a smaller constituency than the environmental movement, Demker (2014) argues that Pirate parties are the expression of new fundamental cleavages, which are arising because "[t]he communicational revolution has trumped the struggles over territory and material resources in such a way that new relevant cleavages are forming around the production, transfer and legitimacy of knowledge" (Demker 2014, pp. 191-192).

The movement also makes extensive use of electronic means of communication. That is, in order to achieve mobilization this movement and the "associ-

[27]The number is nearly identical (86.7%) if the analysis is limited to respondents who were active in the environmental or anti-nuclear movements.

ated" parties draw heavily on digital media (the efficacy of digital media for this purpose is widely discussed, cf. Beyer (2014*b*) and Bennett & Segerberg (2011); for a more skeptical view see Tilly & Wood (2013, pp. 107-108)). I will use the term "digital movement" to denote organizations and activists in this movement, since the term reflects both the content and the most prominent form of activism.

Sweden: Piratpartiet

In Sweden, the early central issue capturing public attention was file-sharing and the related copyright implications (Lindgren 2013). The movement's most influential and prominent group of activists was Piratbyrån (Pirate Bureau), which Burkart (2014) describes as "a loose collective of anarchistic technophiles" (Burkart 2014, p. 17), and whose name is a play on a pro-copyright lobbying organization called the Anti-Piracy Bureau. From its inception in 2006, the Swedish Pirate Party, Piratpartiet, was programmatically aligned with the movement by stressing the reform of copyright law, abolishing patents, and protecting privacy in their declaration of principles (Miegel & Olsson 2008, p. 210), and even borrowed its name from Piratbyrån. The party was, however, not founded by core movement activists or leaders but by political entrepreneur Rick Falkvinge (interview 020203), who was frustrated by establishment parties' refusal to take the issue seriously and realized the draw of the "Pirate" label and related activism for young people. That is, in contrast to the two Green parties discussed above, the Swedish Pirate Party was founded as a movement platform party with strong programmatic, but weak organizational links to the movement.

Table 3.2: Electoral Results: Piratpartiet

Year	Vote Share in %	Seats
2006	0.63	0
2009	*7.13*	*1 (2)*
2010	0.65	0
2014	*2.23*	*0*
2014	0.43	0

(Election Year) Results in *italics* are European elections Due to an adjustment of the number of seats in the EP, Piratpartiet was assigned a second seat during the 2009-2014 legislative period.

Data Source: Döring & Manow (2016) and Valmyndigheten (2016)

The party adopted an extremely participatory internal decision making structure (Bolleyer, Little, & von Nostitz 2015) and conducts its party conventions online (interview 020102). Piratpartiet also encourages its members to act independently in the name of the party, based on the so-called "three-pirate rule" that its founder advocates: "if three activists agree that something is good for the organization, they have a green light to act in the organization's name" (Falkvinge 2013, p. 78). As table 3.2 illustrates, the Pirate Party's electoral breakthrough came with its election to the European Parliament (EP) in 2009,[28] when the party's core issues were high on the political agenda due to a number of legislative processes that touched on the central issues of the party's platform, including the implementation of the Intellectual Property Rights Enforcement

[28]Since both the Swedish and the German Pirate parties elected their only representatives to a parliament above the local (Sweden) or state (Germany) level in European elections, I report both national and European election results here. The two Green parties discussed above also often performed better in European than in national elections, since in the former they profit from vote switching (Hong 2015). These parties also rely on an unusually educated electorate that is more likely to turn out (Dolezal 2010), which is especially important in European elections, when general turnout drops significantly, giving Green parties an advantage.

Directive (IPRED) (Erlingsson & Persson 2011, p. 123). The party won 7.1% of the vote in that election and with it one seat in the EP.[29]

Since then, however, the party has not been able to repeat that electoral success, either in European or national elections, and the movement that inspired the party has demobilized since the peak of its activity in 2009/2010. The Pirate Bureau closed down in 2010 (Miegel & Olsson 2012) and grassroots mobilization declined (interview 020203) without the movement making a transition to more institutionalized forms.

Germany: Piratenpartei

In Germany, civil society activism on what became the core issues of the Pirates goes back at least to opposition against a "Volkszählung" (population census) the German government wanted to conduct in 1983 (Quack & Dobusch 2013, p. 209). More recently government initiatives to implement the retention of internet use data and to implement internet blocks[30] have caused new activism and led to the creation of central movement organizations like the AK Vorrat (combating data retention) and AK Zensur (combating internet censorship).

The German Pirate Party, Piratenpartei, was founded in 2006 and recruited from "internet-savy core groups," before the government initiatives for internet blocks in 2009 motivated a second wave of supporters to join the party (Hensel

[29]Because the distribution of seats in the European Parliament between member countries was adjusted later during that legislative session Sweden gained seats. One of these was assigned to the Pirates, whose representation accordingly increased to two seats.

[30]The government wanted to block certain websites to combat online child pornography, while the opponents of internet blocks argued that the same goal could be accomplished without censorship by deleting the relevant websites, rather than instituting internet blocks (Gürbüz 2011, pp. 39-40).

& Klecha 2013, p. 51). During the same period the party increasingly shifted its programmatic attention from issues of copyright law to civil rights (Bartels 2009, pp. 183-184). The AK Vorrat is often seen as a central organization from which activists entered the Piratenpartei (Hensel & Klecha 2013, pp. 88), leading to a significant spill-out (Hadden & Tarrow 2007) of activists from the movement to the party (interview 010202).

Like their Swedish counterpart, the German Pirate Party adopted an extremely participatory internal decision making structure, including the use of online decision-making tools (Bolleyer, Little, & von Nostitz 2015). In contrast to Piratpartiet, however, it conducts its party conventions in physical locations.

Table 3.3 demonstrates that the German Pirates have not achieved a breakthrough on the national level, but between 2011 and 2012 the party managed to clear the five percent hurdle in four state elections and elected parliamentary groups to those state parliaments.[31]

Table 3.3: Electoral Results: Piratenpartei

Year	Vote Share in %	Seats
2009	2.0	0
2009	*0.9*	*0*
2013	2.2	0
2014	*1.4*	*1*

(Election Year) Results in *italics* are European elections

Data Source: Döring & Manow (2016) and NSD (2016)

Since those electoral successes, however, the party's popularity has declined

[31]The four states were Berlin, Saarland, Schleswig-Holstein, and Germany's most populous state North Rhine-Westphalia.

and it failed to elect members to the national parliament and only secured one of Germany's 99 seats in the elections to the European Parliament in 2014. The digital movement in Germany, however, has successfully institutionalized, drawing on pre-existing organizations focused on civil rights like the Humanist Union, and organizations founded during a more contemporary phase of movement mobilization, like the Free Software Foundation Europe or Wikimedia.

Organizational Separation: "It's not our kind of party"

While the Green parties, as described above, had some weak formal links to the environmental movements, the Pirate parties never developed these kinds of links to the digital movement. A Pirate representing the party in a German state parliament described this as follows:

> I believe in the history of the Greens there was an understanding that it is the party of the movement organizations [...] I do not believe that there are many organizations in the internet-policy area, who say: "the Pirates that is our party." (interview 010101)

These comments were echoed by a representative of a movement organization in the same country, who argued that "it is not the case that we have adopted the Pirates as our parliamentary arm" (interview 010201). A Swedish activist who was involved in the Pirate Bureau summarized their approach succinctly: "when the Pirate Party formed it was quite obvious that this was not an option for us to be involved in, because we don't trust and we don't work with parties. *It's not our kind of party.*" (interview 020205).[32] One example of

[32]See chapter 4 for a discussion of generalized anti-party attitudes of movement elites. The skepticism among Pirate Bureau elites was both towards parties in general and Piratpartiet and its leader in particular.

tangential formal cooperation between the party and movement exists in Sweden. Movement activists and members of Piratpartiet's youth wing have set up Kopieringskassan (K-kassan), an insurance system that covers fees incurred for those caught in illegal file-sharing. Even here though the collaboration is driven more by personal relationships and is limited, for instance in the sense that K-Kassan would not use the listserv of Piratpartiet's youth wing to promote its activities (interview 020206).

With this kind of organizational distance, it is unsurprising that there are also almost no routinized informal interactions between the two Pirate parties and the digital movements in their respective countries. Similar to the situation of contemporary Green parties described above, representatives for 83.3% of interviewed digital SMO leaders highlighted non-partisanship, rejected the term "cooperation" with respect to political parties, or displayed a broad negative attitude towards parties as vehicles for political change. Accordingly a Pirate member of a German state parliament summarized: "To say that such an organization cooperates directly with the party? Rather not. That is, one very much tries to separate the whole [thing]" (interview 010104). Another representative of the party described the situation in similar terms:

> Regularly, that [collaborations] did not happen. That is, in the sense that one really had permanent dialog partners or regular meeting, in that form not. (interview 010112)

In the same vein, a board member of the Swedish Pirates highlighted the absence of routinized interactions in the following way: "So mostly when we cooperate with organizations, it's on a case to case basis" (interview 020101).

Election campaigns are, as between Greens and the environmental move-

ment, a period in which the existing contacts decrease even further. The run-up to elections was described by 60% of Pirate party and digital movement interview partners as a time in which the distance between party and NGOs grows or in which SMOs generally keep their distance from party politics.[33] A Swedish Pirate summarized this as follows:

> So when election time comes, most of the organizations that we might have cooperation [with] and have at least partly the same agenda in one issue or other, they don't want to be associated with us as a political party. (interview 020106)

While formal links and routinized interactions are largely absent, the German Pirate Party has had an influx of movement activists, as described above. Accordingly, some of the party elite are (former) prominent movement activists, as for instance, Katherina Nocun and Patrick Breyer, who were both prominent activists with the AK Vorrat and served as a member of the party's national leadership in 2013 (Nocun) and as a member of a state parliament (Breyer), respectively (interview 010202). In Sweden, due to the foundations of the party outside of the movement core and the demobilization of the movement, these overlaps are essentially absent.

Programmatic Alignment

With movement origins only about a decade ago, both Pirate Parties remain closely aligned with the movements' policy focus and demands. Demker (2014) describes the Pirate movement as follows: "It is anti-authoritarian and aims to

[33]The exception was the campaign for the 2009 European Parliament in Sweden, which led to the Pirate Party's breakthrough. I will analyze this campaign further in chapter 6.

enhance civic liberties for youngsters, to give open access to culture through the internet and to improve personal integrity and human dignity on the World Wide Web" (Demker 2014, p. 188). This summary continues to describe both the Swedish and German Pirates. While some changes in their platforms and focus can be observed, like the German Pirates' shift from a copyright to a civil rights focus described above, and both parties have gone through a process to broaden their party platforms by developing positions on all relevant policy areas (interviews 010104, 020104),[34] they have not abandoned their core issue profiles, as the CHES data in table 3.4 illustrates.

Table 3.4: Programmatic Orientation of Piratpartiet and Piratenpartei

Country	Party	Salience Civil Liberties (2010)	Position Civil Liberties (2010)	Most Important Issue (2014)	Position Civil Liberties (2014)
Sweden	Piratpartiet	8.29	1.29	Civil Lib.	1.0
	Other Parties	6.29	5.64	0	4.55
Germany	Piratenpartei	NA	NA	Civil Lib.	2.0
	Other Parties	6.33	4.15	0	4.39

Data Source: CHES; The German Pirate Party was not included in the 2010 wave. Salience: 0-10, with 10 being the highest salience. Position: 0-10, with 0 being the most pro-civil liberties position. Data for other parties are the means for the parliamentary parties and the number of times a parliamentary party focused on civil liberties as its most important issue, respectively.

The data show that civil liberties remained the most important issue for Piratpartiet in 2014 and enjoyed a much higher salience for the Pirates than for the

[34]See chapter 6 for an analysis of these broadening processes and their effects.

parliamentary parties in Sweden in 2010 on average.[35] Piratpartiet also took a more progressive position on the issue in 2010 and 2014 than any parliamentary party in Sweden.[36] The German Pirates remained similarly focused on civil liberties in 2014, and while they were not included in the 2010 wave of the CHES, the 2014 data show that they also took a more progressive position than the German parliamentary parties on the issue.

Movement leaders also expressed that they see the Pirates as programmatically largely aligned, though in Germany they did indicate that they had doubts about the competence of the party to implement or communicate its goals (interviews 010202, 010207). In Sweden, despite fundamental skepticism about parties as vehicles for policy change, Piratpartiet's work in the European Parliament enjoyed a largely positive evaluation from central movement activists (interviews 020203, 020205).

European Movement Parties after World War II

Greens and Pirates are not the only party families with movement roots that have emerged in Europe since 1945. Before the Green parties entered electoral competition, regionalist parties had become a factor in many European democracies with regions that were interested in increased devolution or even independence (De Winter & Türsan 1998). Radical right parties followed suit, establishing themselves as a significant presence in many countries in the 1980s and early 1990s (Kitschelt & McGann 1995). This section will shortly introduce all

[35]Salience was measured on a 0-10 scale, with 10 corresponding to the highest salience.

[36]The CHES measures the position on a 0-10 point scale with 0 corresponding to "Strongly promotes civil liberties," while 10 indicates "Strongly supports tough measures to fight crime."

four party families and demonstrate, drawing on data from the Chapel Hill Expert Survey and secondary literature, that organizational separation accompanied by close programmatic alignment describes many post-World-War II parties with movement origins beyond the four party-movement dyads discussed in detail above.

Green Parties

The Swedish and German Green parties are two cases of a much larger party family that was spawned in the 1970s and 1980s by environmental and anti-nuclear movements (see Müller-Rommel (1989) for an early overview). While the electoral strength of these parties varies considerably (the strongest parties are found in Germany and Austria), they have established themselves as legislative parties in most West European countries and participated in the governments of Belgium, Finland, Germany, Italy, France, and Ireland. Spain represents the exception with extraordinarily weak Greens, while in Norway and Denmark (formerly) Socialist Parties have included the Green agenda in their program.[37] Historically, there has been some variation in Green parties' issue focus between "purist" Greens, exclusively focused on the environment, and "rainbow" Greens, who incorporate other New Social Movements and their issues, like women's rights and pro-peace stances (Rüdig 1985). As we will see below, however, environmental issues and movements are central to all of these parties and in many countries the other NSMs have demobilized to a much larger and institutionalized to a much smaller degree than the environmental

[37] Besides the Socialist Left Party, which incorporated an environmental agenda in its platform, a weak Green party that entered the national parliament for the first time in 2013 exists in Norway.

movement. Thus, for all Green parties, a focus on the environmental and anti-nuclear movements which represent these parties' most salient issue focus in civil society is warranted.

These parties have largely organizationally decoupled from the movements in which they originated and that process took place relatively early in the parties' evolution. Dalton (1994), in a study based on data on environmental organizations in 10 European democracies from 1986, finds that with the exception of Friends of the Earth groups in Britain, France, Belgium, and Italy environmental groups "have been visibly absent when new green parties were formed" and that these groups "often insulate themselves from partisan politics, even when green parties are involved" (Dalton 1994, p. 220). As early as in the mid-1990s, his interviews revealed "strong apartisan norms" within environmental organizations (Dalton 1994, p. 221). Since then these parties have, in Rihoux & Franklands (2008) terms, developed from "amateur-activist" to "professional-activist" parties (Rihoux & Frankland 2008) (see also Burchell (2002)). This evolution, as well as the above mentioned participation of some Green parties in national governments, led to a further distancing from the social movements in terms of party organization (Poguntke 2002, pp. 136-137).

In terms of their programmatic orientation, Green parties have remained strongly focused on the environment. Table 3.5 provides an overview of the programmatic stances of West European Green parties by summarizing data from the Chapel Hill Expert Survey.[38] This data shows that, despite the variation between "purist" and "rainbow" Greens discussed above, all parties assign extremely high salience to the environment and take strongly pro-environmental

[38]See table D.1 in the appendix for a list of parties included in the calculation of these statistics.

positions.[39]

The Danish Socialist People's Party[40] (SF) is the only West European Green party included in the survey for which the environment was not the most important issue in 2014. Even for this party, however, the environment ranks high in salience, being SF's most important issue after redistribution and public service provision.[41]

Table 3.5: Programmatic Orientation: Green Parties

	Salience Environment (2010)	Position Environment (2010)	Environment MIP (2014)	Environment top 3 MIP (2014)	Position Environment (2014)
Green parties	8.98 (.19)	1.25 (.17)	11	12	1.06 (.12)
N	11	11	12	12	15

Data Source: CHES; Salience: 0-10, with 10 being the highest salience; Position 0-10, with 0 being the most pro-environmental position. Data are means with standard errors in parenthesis. MIP is the number of parties for which the environment was the top/among the top three issues.

Thus, in sum, the Swedish and German Greens are representative of Green parties in West Europe as a whole in the sense that these parties decoupled from the movements in which they had originated during the first two decades

[39] In 2010 there is no data on Luxembourg, Norway, and Switzerland. In the 2014 wave data on the most important issue is not available for Luxembourg and Norway. Thus there are 15 parties included in the calculation of the 2014 position mean, including the Green parties from Luxembourg (Déi Gréng), Norway (Miljøpartiet De Grønne and Sosialistisk Venstreparti), and Switzerland (Grüne/Les Vertes/Il Verdi), but fewer parties with respect to the other measures.

[40] The Socialist People's Party was founded in 1959 as a split from the Danish Communist Party and sought to combine democracy and socialism. It was, however, also the party in Denmark that over time incorporated the demands of the New Left into its platform (Arter 1999, p. 130). The party is moreover a member of the European Green Party, the umbrella group of Green parties across the European continent.

[41] For the Socialist People's Party these three issues were also very close in terms of salience when measured on a 10 point scale in 2010. The environment was valued at 7.45, redistribution at 7.27, and public service provision at 7.64.

of their existence. At the same time, however, they retained their focus on the environment as their top issue and continue to take strong positions in favor of environmental protection.[42]

Pirate Parties

As discussed with respect to the Swedish and German cases above, Pirate parties originated in civil society activism around issues brought to the forefront by modern information societies (cf., Demker (2014)), including issues of copyright, privacy, and democratic participation. Along with the Icelandic Pirates, who are represented in the national parliament, the Swedish and German parties were the most electorally successful. The parties' international umbrella organization, Pirate Parties International, has member parties from 40 countries, including 14 states in Western Europe[43] (Pirate Party International 2016).

The development of Pirate Parties and their organizational structure has so far attracted much less attention than that of the Greens, but from the very beginning both their commitment to member participation and the transnational character of the movement did not lend themselves to the development of strong connections on an organizational or elite level. In a study of the Pirate parties in the UK, Belgium, and Germany, Bart Cammaerts (2015) finds that "the Pirate Parties are organised with overall weak national structures and very strong and active branches localised in places where there is a critical mass of

[42]This conclusion runs counter to some accounts in the literature that stress estrangement from the movements (for instance della Porta et al. (2017, pp. 190-191)) and often do not take the ideological development and moderation of the movement and associated organizations into account.

[43]The West European countries are Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, and Switzerland.

people willing to engage and act" (Cammaerts 2015, p. 29). Moreover, for the German and Swedish cases Bolleyer, Little, & von Nostitz (2015) show that this commitment to democratic equality in the organizational structures of the parties created the tendency for a strongly fluctuating and largely passive rank and file membership. These tendencies, coupled with the decentralization described above, do not allow the development of strong, influential organizational ties to social movement organizations through elite interactions. This separation between movement activism and party political efforts is furthered by the transnational character of significant parts of the movement (Dobusch & Gollatz 2012), which often goes along with a more limited focus on national party politics than the activities of nationally-focused movements.[44] Thus, from the beginning the connection between Pirates and the movements from which they originated was limited to an overlap at the grassroots, and if the Swedish and German case studies conducted for this project are an indication of more general trends, this overlap is becoming less influential (see the analysis in chapter 6).

Despite their recent inception Pirate parties have already gone through a process of programmatic evolution, without, however, losing their links to movement demands.[45] Studying the programmatic orientation of five European Pirate parties,[46] Jääsaari & Hildén (2015) find that the early core of Pirate politics centered on the (inseparable) trinity of digital rights, composed of free speech, privacy, and access (see also Burkart (2014, pp. 151-152)). Around this trinity grew a set of core concerns about copyrights, patents, privacy, and, since

[44]See Keck & Sikkink (1998) and Tarrow (2005) for foundational work on transnational activism. In fact, Burkart (2014) identifies pirates as "rooted cosmopolitans" in Tarrow's terms (Burkart 2014, p. 133). Though, see Beyer (2014*a*, pp. 142-143) for differences between the new internet activism on freedom of expression and the focus of (transnational) social movement theory.

[45]The Chapel Hill Expert Survey on party positions only includes the Swedish and German Pirates and accordingly no further cross-national data is presented here.

[46]Specifically those in the Czech Republic, Finland, France, Germany, and Sweden.

concerns about the "perceived erosion of democracy" are widespread in many Pirate parties (Fredriksson 2015, p. 913), the nature of (participation in) modern democracies more generally (Jääsaari & Hildén 2015). While this trinity remains important, file sharing has become a less central issue and these parties have broadened their programs to take positions on a wider range of issues[47] (Jääsaari & Hildén 2015). In summary, Jääsaari & Hildén (2015) conclude that "[t]he common theme of the Pirates' stance on both core Pirate issues and other, more conventional political issues [...] is the emphasis on individual autonomy" (Jääsaari & Hildén 2015, p. 882). This programmatic orientation chimes well with a movement whose "'utopian messages' [...] are based on ideas of individual freedom and autonomy" (Lindgren & Linde 2012, p. 157) and in which Piratbyrån as a central actor had declared that file-sharing was an issue that had been passed by the times and facts (interview 020203).

Thus, the Pirates emerged from an even less-institutionalized movement environment than the Greens, often going along with few organizational connections to these movements. They do retain their core programmatic focus, however, while going through a process of developing positions on all relevant political issues.

Regionalist Parties

Regionalist parties, as a party family (see De Winter & Türsan (1998) for an overview), espouse a wide variety of ideologies on the left/right spectrum (Massetti 2009, De Winter, Gómez-Reino, & Lynch 2006), but are bound together

[47] I will discuss this broadening process and its consequences in more detail for the German and Swedish cases in chapter 6.

by a shared focus on gaining some form of devolution for their region at the minimum and independence at the maximum. The most prominent examples of these parties are found in Belgium, where the linguistic cleavage structures much of the partisan competition, Spain, where regionalist parties are most relevant in Catalonia, Galicia and the Basque Country, and the United Kingdom, where regionalism is strong in Scotland and Wales.

The origins of regionalist parties are less unified than those of Green or Pirate parties. Some have relatively recent roots in social movements, while others had early origins in what Lipset & Rokkan (1967) have described as the conflict between subject and dominant cultures that resulted from the national revolutions. Even in countries with the latter, older regionalist parties, however, "the mid-years of the twentieth century often saw a 'swallowing up' of these sorts of parties by larger political movements" (Ware 1996, p. 40). The pre-1945 incarnation of the Welsh regionalist party Plaid Cymru, for instance, has been characterized as having both traits of a social movement and a pressure group (McAllister 2002, p. 92ff).

Research on the success of regionalist parties has focused on a variety of factors ranging from institutional factors, like electoral systems, and economic explanations to strategic accounts (see Lublin (2014, pp. 8-14) for an overview). Their movement connections, however, have received far less attention (see Van Atta (2003*b*) for a notable exception that focuses on the movement context of regionalist parties). Lieven De Winter (1998) argues based on 12 case studies on West European regionalist parties that most of these parties "do not merely have good relations with the broader ethnoregionalist social movement, but are the core of this movement" (De Winter 1998, p. 232). He, however,

also identifies three regions (Flanders, Catalonia, and the Basque country) in which the movement is not entirely reliant on the regionalist party as a political ally and "can (temporarily) shift their support between ethnoregionalist parties" (De Winter 1998, p. 232). Overall, De Winter (1998) classifies seven of 12 parties as the core of the movement, three as the party most supported by the movement, and another two parties as parties co-existing with a movement around them, which are, however, not the party most supported by that movement (De Winter 1998, p. 233). Moreover, detailed country studies reveal more variation between regionalist parties with respect to their movement connections. In a comparative study of Plaid Cymru and the Galician regionalist party Bloque Nacionalista Galego (BNG), for instance, Sydney Van Atta (2003*a*) finds that while the latter party is well integrated into the region's movement sector, the connection between Plaid and the movement is more tenuous. The BNG, for instance, retains close, though non-formalized links to a nationalist labor union, while Plaid cannot rely on that kind of embeddedness in civil society (Van Atta 2003*a*, pp. 85, 96).

Thus, the picture with respect to the organizational relationship between regionalist movements and parties is much more varied than the relations between Pirate or Green parties and the movements that gave rise to them. Overall, though, there is at least a subset of regionalist parties that originated in movements or was swept up in them (again) in the mid-20th century, and these parties now co-exist with a largly organizationally decoupled movement sector. As mentioned in the previous chapter, even the Scottish National Party, which De Winter (1998) classifies as the core of the movement, co-existed with the Radical Independence Campaign, an alliance of groups to the left of the SNP campaigning for independence, in the run-up to the Scottish independence ref-

erendum of 2014 (Scotland Herald 2012). I will discuss the complications this variation inside the regionalist party family introduces in the relevant sections (see chapter 5) and return to its consequences in the concluding chapter.

Turning to regionalist parties' programmatic orientation, table 3.6 illustrates that regionalist parties have not left their behind programmatic focus on decentralization or independence for their respective regions.[48] Specifically, they take positions close to the pro-decentralization pole and the issue retains high salience for these parties.

Table 3.6: Programmatic Orientation: Regionalist Parties

	Salience Regionalism (2010)	Position Regionalism (2010)	Regionalism MIP (2014)	Regionalism top 3 MIP (2014)	Position Regionalism (2014)
Regionalist parties	8.58 (.55)	1.35 (.40)	5	8	2.13 (.53)
N	11	11	10	10	10

Data Source: CHES; Salience: 0-10, with 10 being the highest salience; Position 0-10, with 0 being the most pro-decentralization position. Data are means with standard errors in parenthesis. MIP is the number of parties for which the regionalism was the top/among the top three issues.

That experts only classified five of the ten West European regionalist parties with movement origins included in the CHES as focused on regionalism as a top issue indicates that this group of parties is more diverse regarding the specificity of its focus than the Green and Pirate parties discussed above. Some regionalist parties stress their commitment to region in ways other than pushing for decentralization, as for instance the Swedish People's Party in Finland, which focuses

[48]See table D.1 for a list of parties included in the calculation of these statistics. Since in 2014 no data is available for the Chunta Aragonesista the number of observations from the 2014 wave drops by 1 to 10 from the 11 relevant parties included in the 2010 wave.

on the interests of the Swedish-speaking minority in the country, and Sinn Féin in Ireland, which is advocating reunification with the North. Accordingly these two parties are classified as considering "ethnic minorities" and "nationalism" as their top issues in the CHES data, but they too remain focused on the goals of the movements that once gave rise to them.[49]

In sum, the organizational connections between regionalist parties and the movements in which they originated vary on the party-level, but as a party family they remain focused on pushing for greater autonomy or independence.

Radical Right Parties

Most (new) radical right parties have their origins in the 1980s and early 1990s (Kitschelt & McGann 1995) in strong opposition to the libertarian ideas the New Social Movements and Green parties had introduced a decade earlier (Häusermann & Kriesi 2015, Bornschier 2010). Even though their electoral fortunes have often been volatile, as a party family they have become a constant presence in Western Europe (Art 2011, Mudde 2007) and have been part of coalition governments or supported minority governments in several countries including Austria, Denmark, and the Netherlands.

Movements of the political right have received much less scientific attention than (the new social) movements of the left (Hutter & Kriesi 2013) (see also

[49]Both parties are outliers with respect to the average parties studied in this project, since they have their roots in the early part for the 20th century. The Swedish People's Party is the result of counter-mobilization of Swedish-speaking elites and middle classes when Finish nationalism began its ascent in the early 1900s (Raunio 2006, pp. 126-127). Sinn Féin was founded in 1905 as the party-political arm of the Irish Republican Movement and later the Irish Republican Army (Feeney 2003). Both parties, however, remain surrounded by civil society activity on their core issue (Raunio 2006, Feeney 2003).

Minkenberg (2003)). Accordingly, and similar to regionalist parties, the relationships between radical right parties and nationalist movements are underresearched. Since the rise of the radical right was not accompanied by movement activity comparable to the new social movements that gave rise to Green parties, Herbert Kitschelt (2006*b*) argues that radical right parties do not directly grow out of social movements, but "create and displace social movement practices" (Kitschelt 2006*b*, p. 286). Yet, while the mobilization of nationalist movements is not comparable to the environmental movements of the 1970s, the 1990s and 2000s have seen an increase of anti-immigration protest (Hutter & Kriesi 2013) and there are varying levels of movement activities that surround radical right parties across Europe. Art (2011) identifies the "nationalist subcultures" of different countries as significant factors determining the success of radical right parties. These subcultures can consist of civil society organizations as well as looser networks of sympathizers and activists. Thus, they provide not only acceptability of radical right ideology in society in general, but also organizations that serve as training grounds for future party elites (Art 2011, p. 113), among other things.[50] Moreover, even countries traditionally thought of as having neither a strong, contemporary nationalist movement nor radical right party have recently seen the rise of both. In Great Britain organizations like the English Defense League mobilize anti-Muslim attitudes (Busher 2015). Moreover, after 2009 the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) abandoned its strategy of acting as a pressure group focused on pushing the Conservative Party towards (even) more Eurosceptic positions and began targeting "disadvantaged voters" by adding "strong nationalist, anti-elite and anti-immigration

[50] Art (2011) comes to the conclusion that "the foundations for radical right party building were much stronger in France, Austria, and Flanders than they were in the Netherlands, Britain, Sweden, and Wallonia" (Art 2011, p. 125). Italy has also been identified as a country with a "preexisting network of right-wing nationalist organizations" (van der Brug, Fennema, & Tillie 2005, p. 566).

elements" to its appeals (Ford & Goodwin 2014, p. 108). In 2015 UKIP became the largest party in the European elections and won almost 13% of the vote (though due to a majoritarian electoral system only one seat) in the national elections. Similarly, in Germany the PEGIDA movement[51] harnesses anti-Muslim and anti-refugee sentiments (Geiges, Marc, & Walter 2015), and a new party of the radical right, the "Alternative für Deutschland "(Alternative for Germany; AfD) (Berbuir, Lewandowsky, & Siri 2015) has won seats in 13 of Germany's 16 state parliaments since its inception in 2013. The organizational connections between these movements and the radical right parties are often loose because of the low level of institutionalization of nationalist movements, which prevents formal organizational ties, and the desire of party leaders not be publicly associated with fascist movements (Rydgren 2002, p. 50) or movement activity that is reminiscent of (neo-)fascism.[52]

In terms of public mobilization, nationalist movements have, as discussed above, often focused on protest against immigration or related issues, including the presence of Muslims and refugees in West European countries. Radical right parties have consistently shown a focus on the defense of a distinct national culture, described, for instance, as "cultural homogeneity" (Kitschelt & McGann 1995, p. 20) or "nativism" (Mudde 2007, pp. 18-20) and with it the rejection of immigration.[53] Table 3.7 illustrates this issue focus by showing that immigration

[51]PEGIDA is an acronym for "Patriotische Europäer gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes" (Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the West).

[52]The extremely contentious nature of radical right movement activism, including violent and illegal activity, often makes radical right parties sensitive to being associated with that activity and thus complicates the scientific study of interactions between these movements and ideologically-close parties.

[53]Mudde (2007) conceptualizes nativism "as an ideology, which holds that states should be inhabited exclusively by members of the native group ("the nation") and that nonnative elements (persons and ideas) are fundamentally threatening to the homogenous nation-state [...] The nativist dimension includes a combination of nationalism and xenophobia" (Mudde 2007, p. 22).

occupies the central role for most radical right parties across Europe[54] and that they display clear preferences for extremely restrictive immigration policies.[55]

Table 3.7: Programmatic Orientation: Radical Right Parties

	Salience Immigration (2010)	Position Immigration (2010)	Immigration MIP (2014)	Immigration top 3 MIP (2014)	Position Immigration (2014)
Radical Right parties	9.49 (.16)	9.63 (.14)	8	9	9.53 (.13)
N	11	11	11	11	11

Data Source: CHES; Salience: 0-10, with 10 being the highest salience; Position 0-10, with 10 being the most anti-immigration positions. Data are means with standard errors in parenthesis. MIP is the number of parties for which the immigration was the top/among the top three issues.

It is noteworthy that beyond immigration, the ideological core of radical right parties, and in particular the role economic positions play in it, is a matter of significant academic debate.[56] Kitschelt & McGann (1995) argued that ideal-typical radical right parties take strong pro-market positions, while Mudde (2007) criticizes this assumption and argues that for radical right parties the economy is a secondary issue[57] and that the parties "defend a nativist economic program based upon economic nationalism and welfare chauvinism"

[54]See table D.1 for a list of parties included in the calculation of these statistics. The 2010 data includes the Belgian Front National for which no data was available in 2014, while the 2014 data includes the German NPD, which was not included in the 2010 wave.

[55]This is not to imply that radical right parties are a single-issue party focused exclusively on immigration (see Mudde (1999) for a strong argument against the single-issue thesis), but that these parties' focus aligns with the movements' focus and framing. Radical right parties might well be the expression of a wider antagonism, with the new left representing the other pole of the cleavage (Kriesi 2010), but this discussion is beyond the scope of this project.

[56]This discussion is connected to a debate about the most appropriate term to describe these parties. For simplicities' sake I use "radical right parties" here.

[57]This is in line with Rovny's finding that radical right parties blur their positions on economic issues while highlighting other issues to increase their support (Rovny 2013).

(Mudde 2007, p. 137). Thus, the one issue focus radical right parties consistently maintain across countries and time is identical with the issue nationalist movements have focused and mobilized on. At the same time these parties are at a minimum not formally connected to the nationalist movements on an organizational level, thereby showing most, if not all traits of movement platform parties.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that movement parties before and after World War II were not only ideologically rooted in movement demands, but also built significant organizational connections to movements during their early development. As table 3.8 illustrates Social Democratic parties in their early phases of development deeply integrated the labor movement on all three dimensions of organizational connections through high levels of formal connections, routinized interactions, and a shared network of elites. As described above, the organizational connections of post-World War II movement parties were somewhat weaker, but still significant. These parties shared activists as well as a relevant number of elites at their inception and established informal routinized connections through these actors. Thus movement parties in both time periods integrated social movements in their organizational setup, but the later "generation" of movement parties did so less completely.

Social Democratic parties' evolution towards electoral-professional parties led to a significant loosening of connections to movements, but as table 3.8 illustrates, some links on all dimensions of organizational connections remained.

Social Democrats combine this weakened level of organizational connections with broad catch-all appeals that lack a strong programmatic connection to the labor movement. That is, these parties are ideal-typical electoral-professional parties.

Table 3.8: Models of Movement Parties' Organizational Connections

	Social Democratic Parties		Post-WWII Movement Parties	
	Early	Contemporary	Early	Contemporary
Formal Connections	high	low	low	absent
Routinized Interactions	high	medium	medium	low
Elite Overlap	high	low	medium	absent

Parties whose movement roots lie after 1945 have also gone through a process of development in which they significantly loosened their organizational ties to those movements. In most cases formal connections were completely abolished and the shared network of elites vanished almost entirely. Only a low level of routinized informal interactions remains. Combined with the continued ideological commitment to movement goals these parties thus adopted the movement platform model.

The remainder of this dissertation is dedicated to explaining why contemporary parties with movement roots have adopted the movement platform party model instead of following earlier parties' evolution to electoral-professional models. The next chapter elucidates the reasons for the organizational separation of parties and movements, before chapter 5 turns its attention to the interaction of the voter base and party and movement elites' reactions to that voter base in order to explain the retention of close programmatic links between the

two actors.

CHAPTER 4

ORGANIZING INFLUENTIAL MOVEMENTS: WHY MOVEMENTS AND PARTIES KEEP THEIR DISTANCE AS ORGANIZATIONS

The previous chapter demonstrated that movement platform parties were founded with looser organizational connections to movements than their pre-World War II predecessors and have largely shed the connections that did exist in the first decades of their existence. This chapter explores why parties and movements went their separate ways despite strong incentives for cooperation in pursuit of shared policy goals. Both actors would, for instance, profit significantly from the coordination of agenda-setting efforts and the pooling of organizational resources for the purpose of mobilization. Why is this kind of cooperation so rare?

The discussion in chapter 2 above provides initial expectations which help to answer this question. In that chapter I argued that social movements have strong incentives to push for organizational separation from the party they spawned for two reasons. First, remaining above the partisan fray allows social movement organizations to retain the support of citizens with different party-political persuasions and to influence parties across the political spectrum. Second, I argued that the New Social Movement roots of many parties with origins after World War II should lead to organizational separation, because elites from these movements are particularly skeptical about parties' ability to prioritize movement policy goals over the organizational self-interest – including vote/office-seeking behavior – of party elites. Third, the small political parties these movements spawned have few resources to offer that are of interest to SMOs. Party elites are accordingly incentivized to accept the separation and

try to make the best of it by realizing positive radical flank effects. They can achieve these effects by presenting themselves to the electorate as a less radical, more reasonable version of the movements.

This chapter will provide evidence based on interview and survey data supporting that all three of these factors incentivize organizational separation. It also identifies organizational imperatives that lead to a separation of elites and create further obstacles for cooperation as an additional reason for the separation. The chapter will address each of these four factors in a distinct section, before briefly discussing how the reasons for organizational separation have fluctuated over time and across movement platform parties' stages of development. A final section concludes the chapter by highlighting how SMOs, contrary to the historical experience of Social Democratic parties and many expectations in the literature, are the central actors in pushing for organizational separation.

Movement Organizations and Non-Partisanship: Mobilizing Support and Influencing Political Parties

As discussed in the previous chapter, the vast majority of SMO representatives explicitly stressed the non-partisan approach their organizations are pursuing. In line with the expectations laid out above, this is motivated by the belief that genuine non-partisanship allow them to successfully engage with actors across the political spectrum and thus enables SMOs to exert the largest possible influence on policy change. A representative of a German environmental organization described the goal as being "acceptable" to actors on both the left and right of the political spectrum (interview 010408).

Because citizens and politicians are more likely to perceive SMOs to be in some form of alliance with parties that are programmatically close to the movement and share its historical roots, movement platform parties are particularly affected by this desire for non-partisanship. Accordingly movement organizations sometimes have especially distant relationships with programmatically close parties. As one Swedish environmentalist recalled: "we are criticized that we are closely connected to the Green Party and the Left[1] [...], so we try to solve that issue by not working too closely with them" (interview 020401).

Two distinct concerns drive movement organizations' preference for organizational distance from the movement platform parties to which they gave rise. First, a concern about losing potential supporters, donors, and activists as well as influence among those in the wider population who do not support the movement platform party close to the movement. Second, the potential of endangering working relationships with other political parties, if the SMOs were closely associated with a movement platform party.

With respect to influencing the wider public, SMOs accordingly highlight their non-partisanship, which is "essential for the credibility" of NGOs in the view of a representative of the German Working Group against Data Retention (interview 010201). This representative highlighted his concerns that citizens receiving information from his organization could stop considering it reliable and instead start perceiving the SMO as a " lobby organization" for a particular political party (interview 010201). Furthermore, movement organizations are worried about the possibility of offending members and supporters with varying party preferences by being associated closely with any political party. One

[1]The Left Party, Vänsterpartiet, is a Swedish socialist party originating in the country's communist party, but has broadened its appeals to those issues important to the New Left (Ersson 2008).

SMO leader described this as follows: "We are, as virtually the entire [German] environmental movement, party-politically neutral and do not see ourselves in a particular closeness to any particular party. That would also be a bit difficult, because our membership affiliates itself with different parties" (interview 010404; similar 010413).

Survey data demonstrate that movement elites' perceptions regarding the varied nature of their supporters' party-political preferences are accurate. Figures 4.1 and 4.2 show the party political leanings of citizens who are members of or donated to environmental NGOs in Sweden and Germany.[2] In both countries, sympathizers of the Green Party are overrepresented among the supporters of NGOs, but most other parties enjoy substantial support as well. In fact, regarding both membership and donations the supporters of non-green political parties together vastly outnumber the Green Party supporters. Accordingly, organizations within the environmental movement would risk the majority of their support base if they bound themselves exclusively to the Green party of their respective country.[3]

Parties are well aware of SMOs' desire for clear organizational distance and understand that it is partially driven by concerns regarding the movements'

[2]The data is from the first wave of the European Social Survey (ESS) (NSD - Norwegian Centre for Research Data, Norway - Data Archive and distributor of ESS data for ESS ERIC 2002). Party preference was measured by polling whether citizens felt closer to one party "than all other parties," and then asking respondents to name that party. Members and donors were identified using the question "For each of the voluntary organisations I will now mention, please use this card to tell me whether any of these things apply to you now or in the last 12 months, and, if so, which." The organizations were described as "an organisation for environmental protection, peace or animal rights," and the relevant activities here were "Member," and "Donated money," respectively. This question was only asked in the 2002 wave, making more recent comparisons unfeasible. Design weights were applied.

[3]Figures displaying the results for those who participated in (see figure E.2) or volunteered time (see figure E.3) with an environmental NGO are available in the appendix and lead to the same conclusions. No relevant organization type for the digital movement was polled in the ESS.

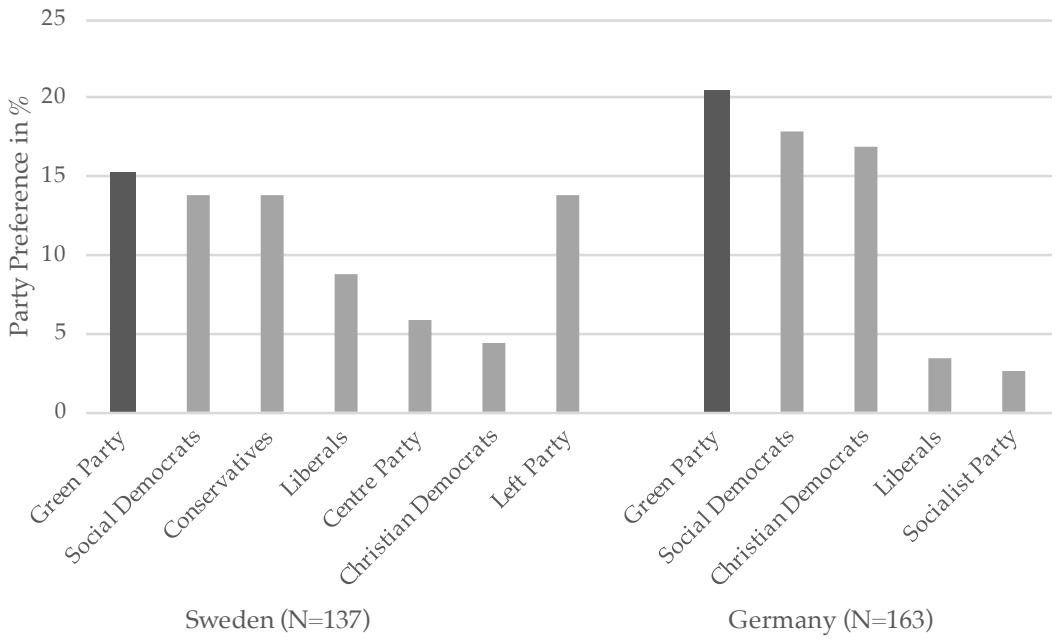


Figure 4.1: Members of Environmental NGOs by Party Preference; Green parties highlighted; Source: ESS

supporter base and influence. A Pirate Party representative in Sweden described this as the SMOs wanting to "keep their space" (interview 020106) and a Green politician in the same country summarized: "the social movements are afraid of getting too involved with party politics, because they think that will decrease their membership and that few people will listen if they are seen as some part of the establishment" (interview 020301). Movement platform party elites also recognize that their parties, as those ideologically closest to the movement organizations, are often most affected by the movements' strong preference for non-partisanship: "the environmental movements are those most afraid of getting too close to the Green Party [...] Because they want to have members who are Social Democrats, and Liberals, and everything. They don't just want to have Green members, because that will decrease their influence" (interview

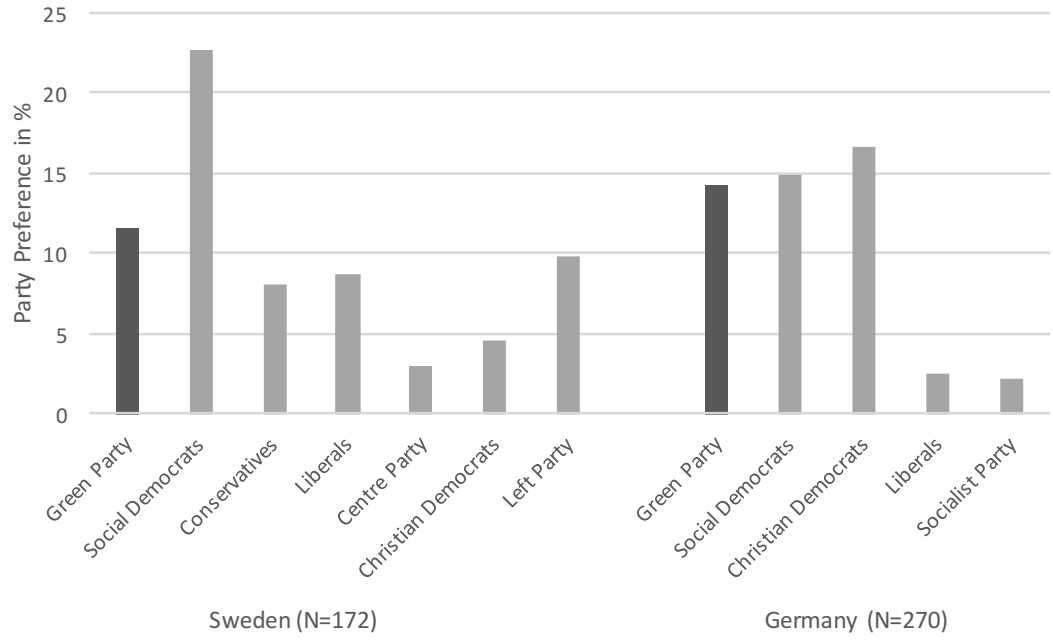


Figure 4.2: Donors of Environmental NGOs by Party Preference; Green parties highlighted; Source: ESS

020301). For that reason the SMOs not only avoid organizational connections, but go so far as to rarely contact only the (movement platform) party closest to them when they engage with party politics and prefer to get in touch with several parties at once (interview 020307). Naturally, the concerns about being mistaken for a party-politically biased organization are highest during electoral campaigns, when the public is tuned into politics, and thus the SMOs' willingness to cooperate with parties in any way comes to a full stop during those periods of time (interview 020106).

Beyond concerns about being less attractive to supporters and influential with respect to the general public, SMOs also worry that a close association with one party could cause them to lose their influence on other parties and the governments that they form. A representative of the Working Group against

Internet Blocks and Censorship in Germany highlighted that non-partisanship was particularly important for "being able to find a contact person in all parties" (interview 010203). He explained that taking a clear party-political position would lead to being identified with a particular party and thus losing the ability to "put the issue forward" with other political parties (interview 010203). Another SMO representative within the digital movement described the goals of his organization has having a "neutral working relationship" with all political parties (interview 010205). This desire to remain "capable of communicating and connecting with all parties" also drives staffing decisions where individuals with clear party connections are not seen as ideal ambassadors of an SMO's message to the political sphere (interview 010406).[4] More generally, some movement leaders believe that a close association of their topic with a political party (i.e. issue ownership) leads to other political parties abandoning the issue, making it harder to achieve policy change (interview 010209).[5]

When cooperating with parties, one tactic that movement organizations draw on to avoid offending other parties is to engage several parties at the same time and include all of them in the process. A representative of Wikimedia in Germany described how his organization pushed for a specific policy change on the state level and that the Pirates were those who raised the issue in the state parliament (interview 010201). During the process, however, Wikimedia made sure to bring in the other opposition parties when formulating the specific motion and eventually even convinced the governing parties in the state

[4]See below for a more detailed discussion of the lack of elite overlap between movements and movement platform parties.

[5]Recent research has shown that this concern is valid in some circumstances and regarding some issues, like the environment, but not others, like immigration (Abou-Chadi 2016). Here, however, movement leaders' belief that strong issue ownership by one party would lead other parties to ignore that issue is enough to create preferences for organizational separation from any political party.

to support that motion (interview 010201). In that way no parliamentary party was left outside the process.

Again, as with respect to SMOs' concerns about losing supporters, movement platform party elites are also conscious of both movement organizations' concerns regarding the loss of influence on other (mainstream) parties and the effects of these concerns on SMOs' relationship with ideologically close movement platform parties. A former leader of the Swedish Green Party stated, talking about the SNF, a central environmental SMO in the country: "[T]hey are a bit afraid of having too close relations to the Greens, because they think it will affect their possibilities to work with other politicians in a negative way" (interview 020307). Party elites also recognize that the social movement organizations' preference for cooperating with several political parties at the same time, for instance when organizing a seminar, stems from this desire to maximize the movement's influence on parties across the political spectrum (interview 020303). The same awareness exists regarding SMOs' sensitivity to interactions with parties during political campaigns when other political actors, like parties and NGOs, particularly frown on these kinds of cooperation (interview 010109).

Movement platform parties, however, do not share the desire for distance and organizational separation. On the contrary, several party leaders expressed a desire for a closer relationship with the movements that gave rise to their party (e.g., interviews 010105, 010307, 20102, 020301, 020307). A representative of the German Greens highlighted that "cultivating and further extending and intensifying" the party's contacts to the movements is important to the party's agenda (interview 010306). In Sweden one of the reasons for establishing Miljöpartiet's own think-tank, COGITO, was "to broaden the green sphere around the Green

Party," but SMOs were not interested in becoming founding members of the think-tank (interview 020306). Movement platform party leaders also voiced their preference for: cooperation during election campaigns (010112), increased input from movement organizations into their policy formulation process (interview 020307), and for candidates with prominent social movement backgrounds in order to "increase the credibility" of the party's list (interview 020102).

Especially during electoral campaigns this has led to frustration in movement platform parties, where elites see the distance as harming the overall cause, with one former Green MP in Germany describing the movements' retreat from party politics during those periods as "a timidness that I also cannot understand" (interview 010307). When the German Greens, for instance, were facing strong negative press coverage for advocating to serve exclusively meat-free meals in public canteens on one day of the week during the 2013 national election campaign (Caspari 2013) the environmental movement organizations did not publicly back up the party. A representative of Die Grünen expressed his dismay about the reluctance of SMOs to engage in this debate, which he saw as driven by a fear of intervening in an election campaign: "In that case the organizations and movements did not get that this was not just about the Greens, but actually about slaughtering the cause, also in public opinion" (interview 010305).

Despite this desire for closer cooperation and organizational connections, movement platform parties are not in a position to change the SMOs' preference for organizational separation, because they have little influence to offer. These parties are usually small and not in positions of political power. Accordingly they are not attractive targets for lobbying efforts or cooperation (e.g., inter-

views 010204, 020206, 020308) and movement organizations concentrate their efforts on large (mainstream) parties, particularly those in government (interviews 010204, 010205). As described in the previous chapter, movement platform parties are furthermore already programmatically close to the movement and they are also perceived as such by SMOs (interviews 010207, 020401). A representative of an environmental organization in Sweden described his organization's relationship with the Green Party as follows: "But normally we don't put a lot of priorities in influencing them, because they are already on our side" (interview 020401).

Moreover, as will be discussed in more detail in chapters 5 and 6, parties cannot exert pressure on SMOs to achieve closer organizational cooperation and risk conflict, because they depend on positive evaluations from movements, which creates a power imbalance between the two actors. One representative of the Swedish Society for Nature Conservation described the organization's relationships to politicians as follows:

> [T]hey are very afraid of us [...] We always sort of play it out in both media and member ways. We try to influence the members. We have more than 200.000 members now [...] [F]or a politician 200.000 members, that's quite a good voter base. And then we also try to communicate it through media. (interview 020401)

The power of SMOs over political parties derives partially from the higher credibility NGOs enjoy in times when other political institutions, including parties, are much less popular. A representative of Campact, a German progressive movement organization pursuing an approach similar to MoveOn.org in the U.S. that, among other things, works on environmental issues, described the situation with respect to the Greens as follows: "the accusation alone, that they do

not represent the environment optimally harms them [...] [I]t would be a question of who the public believes and that NGOs at first have a higher credibility is just the way it is" (interview 010313). Survey data supports this contention. In the early 2010s, for instance, 66.1% of Germans and 69.2% of Swedes expressed "a great deal" or "quite a lot" of confidence in "environmental organizations," while only 23.9% and 42.2% respectively said the same of "political parties."[6]

But even beyond criticism and credibility, movement platform parties rely on their existing programmatic closeness and contacts with the movements in order to push their agenda. A Swedish online activist argued that without movement mobilization "nobody will listen" and pay attention to the campaigns the Pirate Party runs or the protests it organizes. He, furthermore, argued that even in the European Parliament, where the Swedish Pirates enjoyed representation at the time of the interview, Piratpartiet had to rely on the movements as an implicit power base to push its agenda within the Green parliamentary group that the Pirate MEPs had joined:

> But they are influential in the Green group because they have all of these organizations backing them up on specific issues [...] I mean the Green group, when they see the Pirate Party and then when they see the ACTA [Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement] protests, the Green group will say: "You know the Pirates are really important, we need to have them with us. We don't want these people against us at least." (interview 020203)

Thus, in this situation in which the movement platform parties cannot singlehandedly change the movements' preference for organizational separation and distance, they are forced to accept the status quo. The attitudes within

[6]Source: World Value Survey; Data from 2013 for Germany and 2011 for Sweden (Asep/JDS 2016).

movement platform parties regarding this situation range from respectful acceptance as expressed by a member of the Green Party's national leadership in Sweden, who stated that the environmental organizations "are very keen to be independent of course and that is something we have to respect" (interview 020302; similar 010104 on the German Pirates and NGOs), to disappointment and the belief that the impact of the entire (environmental) movement "is considerably weakened" by the organizational distance between party and movement (interview 010307).

The inability to work closely together is also self-reinforcing, because it leads to competition for public acknowledgment as the driving force of policy successes (e.g., interview 010105). Movement representatives, for example, criticized the phenomenon of politicians appearing at protests for a short time and receiving a large part of the media coverage (interview 010413), and parties acknowledge that they work to appear prominently in media coverage (interview 010112). A Swedish digital activist described the aftermath of the protests against the Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement, which aimed to strengthen international copyright enforcement, as follows:

> Afterwards the Pirate Parties, they really wanted to take credit for ACTA, but they were not the driving force. The driving force was the other organizations like La Quadrature de Net and so forth. Even Anonymous was more active than the Pirate Party. The Pirate Party was just framing that as a formal political decision process. (interview 020203)

In sum the organizational separation of movement platform parties from the movements that gave rise to them is driven by the SMOs' preferences. These organizations want to remain non-partisan in order to maximize their supporter base and influence on political parties across the political spectrum. Parties lack

the resources to change this outcome.

Assumptions about Different Motivations and Distrust

Beyond the strategic considerations about influence maximization, movement organizations' desire for organizational separation from movement platform parties is also grounded in assumptions about the driving motivations of party actors. SMO elites described parties as inherently vote-seeking, while they characterized their own attitude as policy-seeking (see Müller & Strøm (1999) on this distinction). A central activist in the Swedish digital movement summarized this as follows:

> [I]t became quite obvious that the Pirate Party was trying to [...] gain seats in the parliament [...] rather than maybe push the issues in the right direction [...] Because they tried to become [...] if not mainstream then maybe populistic [...] Trying to gain votes for instance, sometimes in pragmatic ways, because they took a step away from actual internet politics. (interview 020205)

The survey conducted among Swedish Green Party members provides contradictory results on whether these assumptions are grounded in reality. As table 4.1 shows, when asked to rank the importance of intra-party democracy, policy-, vote-, and office-seeking goals, the vast plurality of party members, as well as office holders for the party and party elites (defined as those holding office above the local level), favors policy change as the primary goal for Miljöpartiet.[7]

[7]While there is social desirability bias to highlight policy gains as the most important reason, it is mitigated by the anonymous nature of the survey and the opportunity to rank the different goals rather than having to dismiss one or more of them altogether.

Table 4.1: Primary Goal Miljöpartiet Should Pursue in % of Respondents

	Party Members	Office Holders	Party Elites
Policy	52.90	51.85	45.45
Intra-party democracy	24.00	27.50	28.12
Office	18.30	13.58	12.50
Votes	8.33	8.54	12.12
N	156	82	33

Office Holders are the subset of Party Members holding any public or party office, while Party Elites are defined as those members holding office above the local level, i.e. are a subset of Office Holders.

There are also few differences with respect to the reasons members of the Swedish Greens highlighted as driving their movement and party activism. Figure 4.3 plots the means of responses to survey items asking for the importance of three potential reasons for joining the party or a social movement on a scale ranging from 0, corresponding to not being "at all important" to 4, corresponding to "very important." With respect to movement activity, only answers from respondents who indicated they had been active in the environmental and/or anti-nuclear movement, i.e., the two movements that gave rise to Miljöpartiet, are included. Figure 4.3 illustrates that both "realizing political aims" and "meeting likeminded people" attracted respondents to the party and movements, but "pursuing a career" in either played a much smaller role.[8] The differences between reasons to join the party and reasons to join the movements are negligible with the possible exception of joining for career reasons, which seems to play a somewhat larger role for the party. Since, however, this

[8]Note that the three reasons (realizing the political aims of the party/movement, meeting likeminded people, and pursuing a career) correspond to purposive, solidary, and material incentives to solve collective action problems, like political mobilization (Clark & Wilson 1961).

is a sample drawn from party members and thus by its nature includes those who made a career inside a party, but not all those who focused on careers in movements, this difference should not be over-interpreted.

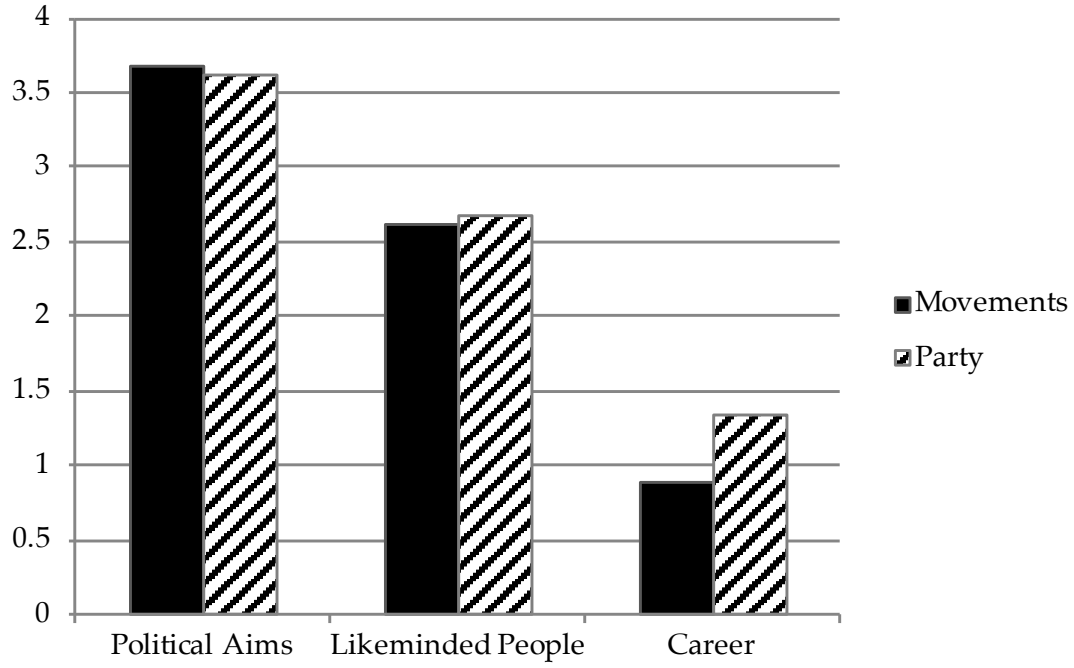


Figure 4.3: Mean Values of Reasons to Join Miljöpartiet/Social Movements

There is some evidence though that people seek to realize different goals in their party and movement activity. As reported in table 4.2, the correlation between joining the movement to achieve policy change and being motivated to join the party for the same reason is relatively low in general and lower than that with respect to meeting likeminded people or pursuing careers. That is, party members active in the environmental and/or anti-nuclear movement had different reasons for their party and movement activity, especially regarding the policy focus.

Table 4.2: Spearman Correlations between Reasons to to Join Miljöpartiet/Social Movements

	Correlation	N
Policy Aims	.26*	93
Likeminded People	.43*	93
Career	.31*	93

$*p < .05$; only includes respondents who indicated that they had been active in the environmental and/or anti-nuclear movement

Independent of whether these assumptions about different motivations accurately reflect reality, they lead movement elites to believe that cooperation would be unproductive at best and highly problematic at worst. This creates a range of different attitudes towards political parties among movement actors. As figure 4.4 illustrates these attitudes are spread out along a spectrum ranging from an acceptance of the differences on one pole to seeing parties generally as inefficient means to push for policy change in the center to a clear anti-party attitude at the other end of that spectrum.

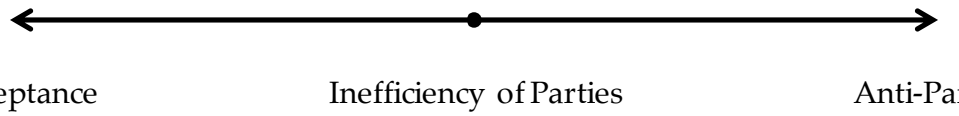


Figure 4.4: Spectrum of Movement Attitudes Towards Political Parties

On one pole of the spectrum attitudes are characterized by an acceptance that the different contexts in which parties and movement organizations work demand different ways of operating. This acknowledgment does not come without criticism of party behavior, but it is relatively mild-mannered as illustrated by this summary given by a representative from a German environmental

SMO:

> [I]n politics one has to represent compromises and then one has an environmental organization, which has very demanding environmental claims. Accordingly, one will of course always criticize more and say: "You are not dedicated enough." Though there are indeed some questions where the parties have not been dedicated enough, because they said: "This won't play well with the voters." (interview 010403)

Similar attitudes were expressed by others in the German environmental movement, who stressed the different roles that compromise and more far-reaching demands play in parties and movements (interview 010407), as well as the importance of issue-focused work (interview 10404), and remaining radical in demands (interview 010402) for movement organizations.

In the middle of the spectrum movement representatives, in the digital movement in particular, see parties simply as inefficient ways of achieving policy change: "almost all political parties have old rules. It is very difficult to push change in your political party" (interview 020202; similar 020206).

On the anti-party pole of the spectrum the belief that parties are inefficient is combined with a more far-reaching critique of political parties. A Swedish activist in the digital movement, for instance, saw parties as unable to engage in direct action, since they would have to defend it to a larger public than activists face, leading him to the conclusion that:

> [T]he Pirate Party were more and more in a sort of political crisis, I think. They wanted to be the hackers of the internet, but they had to be boring politicians, because that's what politicians do. So the attraction for young people I think declined a lot. I think that much of the energy was converted from doing good things to maintaining a political party that wanted to become [the] establishment. (interview 020203)

Moreover, the same activist also saw many of the Pirates activities' on the issues as driven by the desire to realize vote-seeking goals:

> [A] political party do[es] things on a symbolic level to get voters, to get political momentum, to get political credibility. They don't do it because it actually works. This happens sometimes with [a] political party. And that's very frustrating. Especially if you work hard and then the Pirate Party will come and take all the credit for your work. Because they want to use that to win elections. (interview 020203)

An activist who was involved with the Pirate Bureau, the central nucleus of the Swedish digital movement, described the organization's activists' decision to "not engage in party politics" as "deliberate" and voiced a clear preference for "grassroots movements" continuing: "So when the Pirate Party formed it was quite obvious that this was not an option for us to be involved in, because we don't trust and we don't work with parties. It's not our kind of party" (interview 020205).

While this anti-party attitude was especially strong within the Swedish digital movement, it was also expressed by representatives from other movements, like the German digital movement, where one interviewee speculated that the Pirates "might have done themselves a favor if they hadn't founded a party," since "they are not being taken seriously anymore [, because] they work themselves into the ground with power-political games and are not that good substantively that one really accepts them as experts" (interview 010209). Similarly, a representative of a German anti-nuclear group stated that parties "when they have to decide between power and the cause" are more likely to come down on the side of power (interview 010412).[9]

[9]The variety of attitudes towards parties within the same movements, the German environmental movement in particular, might correlate with an implicit division of labour between

Parties do acknowledge that one of their goals has to be the "gain of parliamentary seats" in order to influence bills and "in an ideal case also indeed one day the hope of government participation" (interview 010105). They see themselves as trying to balance this with policy goals: "we kind of need to balance between being radical, like science tells us we need to be to save the planet, but also to get the public to vote for the Green Party" (interview 020303). Party elites also know that the movement does not always think they are finding the right balance: "And I would say that Greenpeace sometimes would find us to be too scared, too frightened, not ambitious enough in that transition" (interview 020303). Occasionally these disagreements, as described with respect to the anti-party attitudes of the Swedish digital movement, are insurmountable. A Swedish Pirate Party leader summarized the situation as follows: "They think we have kind of destroyed it by making it political. Which says something" (interview 020106).

Sometimes the distrust or belief that cooperation would not be fruitful is mutual. Movement organizations are occasionally seen as not knowing how to achieve success, because they are rigidly tied to their ideological positions (interview 010305). A former Green MP in Germany also noted that others in professional politics perceive movement organizations as willing to formulate drastic demands in order win donations (interview 010307).

organizations, where those on the "acceptance" side of the attitude-spectrum have some cooperative interactions with parties, while those on the "anti-party" side have less and more contentious interactions with parties. In the environmental movement this might also correlate with what Dalton (1994) has described as the distinction between a "conservation orientation" and a more fundamental critique of modern societies based in an "ecological orientation" (Dalton 1994, pp. 46-47). A representative of an anti-nuclear organization in Germany indicated that this division of labor even exists within organizations. He described that a colleague worked to maintain contacts with parties, while he himself stressed the importance of "extra-parliamentary protest" coming to the conclusion: "that there maybe also is something like a silent, unspoken agreement that it is good that we are different in our opinions and that this is sometimes complementary" (interview 010402).

To summarize, beyond the strategic separation movement organizations pursue to maximize their support and influence, assumptions about and experiences with the vote-seeking behavior of political parties constitute a second reason why SMOs seek clear organizational separation from any party.

Strategic Benefits of Organizational Separation

Movement platform parties' organizational separation from the movements that gave rise to them is further stabilized by movement and party leaders' perception that the status quo delivers occasional strategic benefits (despite the dissatisfaction by party representatives described above). Organizational separation and the genuine non-partisan approach that comes with it allow movement organizations for instance, to mediate conflicts between political parties and build larger, temporary issue-focused coalitions that also include several parties. A representative of the German civil rights organization Humanist Union recalled that the organization was able to "build bridges" between different parties that wanted to participate in a protest against surveillance, but were concerned that the Pirate Party was over-proportionally profiting from its presence at the protest, which occurred during an election campaign (interview 010206). The organization's engagement thus helped keep this coalition of civil society groups and political parties together, which was only possible because no one could suspect the Humanist Union of being partisan (interview 010206).[10] Similarly, a German Pirate member of a state parliament described how initiatives

[10]Thus, in this case the movement was not only successful because local movement groups and activists were coordinated by professional movement organization, as Tarrow (1998) would expect (Tarrow 1998, p. 124), but additionally because a professional movement organization was able to coordinate and mediate between several political parties and bring them into the coalition, at least for one protest.

for cooperation with civil society actors and other parties fail when initiated by a partisan political actor (interview 010101) and a member of a state leadership of the party voiced a preference for non-partisan organizations to take the lead in coalition-building for the same reason (interview 010106).

Beyond coalition building, party and movement elites sometimes identified a number of other occasionally occurring strategic benefits of their organizational separation. First, as a member of the national leadership of the Swedish Greens acknowledged with respect to the issue of global warming: "If we are too radical there is always of course a genuine possibility that we will scare off voters that are not yet as convinced as the core voters how little time we have to combat the climate issue" (interview 020302). In that context having a social movement that demands even more radical solutions can have positive effects for a movement platform party and create a positive radical flank effect (Haines 1988). That is exactly what these movements do for Miljöpartiet in the view of one former party leader:

> I usually say that if they [the environmental organizations] are really radical, it's good for us, because even if we disagree with them and they think that we are not as radical as we should be, it's good anyway, because then it will seem as if we are reasonable and somewhere in the middle [...] Because if they would be less radical than us, then we would seem extreme and that would be a problem. (interview 020307)

Third, one environmental movement leader indicated that his organization occasionally communicated with a few representatives of parties, in particular Greens who are personally well-known to movement activists, about which role these politicians and other civil society actors will play in pushing the shared anti-nuclear agenda (interview 010402). A Pirate politician representing the

party on a city council also reported occasional contacts with the movement to ensure that party and movement were not "stealing each other's issues" so that the party could highlight one while the movement would focus on another topic (interview 010109).

Fourth and relatedly, some party leaders see the organizational separation and distinct roles of the party and movement as helpful in attaining policy success. Referring to Greenpeace, a Green Swedish Member of Parliament stated that:

> I think it's natural that we have different roles. I encourage them in a way to be more activist. I say yes, do all the campaign stuff that they do because they are so good at it. Because I cannot do it in my role. I cannot be that activist. (interview 020303)

A similar opinion was voiced by a former leader of the party, who also endorsed the different roles of party and movement and argued that "[a]s long as you don't have a majority, you must make compromises, which is not the style of the non-parliamentary groups. And they shouldn't make compromises" (interview 020308).

Finally, SMOs have the ability to make demands that are unpopular or would be unpopular if they were made by politicians. A digital movement leader in Germany named legalizing drugs and increasing the financial resources available to parliamentarians for overhead costs as examples of such demands (interview 010208).

Organizational Demands and Resources

As the previous discussion demonstrated, formal organizational connections and regular, informal connections between movement platform parties and movements are prevented by the latter's desire to maximize influence, as well as support, a certain level of distrust between the two actors, and are further stabilized by occasional strategic benefits of organizational separation. The third criterion of organizational separation, a lack of elite overlap between parties and movements, is also driven by the organizational demands of political parties and lack of resources among social movement organizations.

Candidate selection for political offices is a prime opportunity for movement platform parties to include representatives of social movements and civil society writ-large in their organization and build links with potential allies. Yet, as chapter 3 has demonstrated, the elite networks of parties and movements have become separated and accordingly movement elites who stand as party candidates are a rare occurrence. Party leaders highlighted that a number or organizational demands prevent including outsiders into the party in that way. First, for small parties it is hard to justify giving one or more of their limited parliamentary seats to an outsider when many party activists have worked hard and completed important tasks for the party over a long period of time (interview 020308). Second, for parties in which different wings play an important role, like the German Greens, who are traditionally split into a more fundamentalist (Fundi) and a more moderate (Realo) camp, candidate selection is an important mechanism to balance these wings and keep the party together. Accordingly, these organized wings play a central role in candidate selection (010301), and there is little room for taking other groups into consideration. Third, move-

ments and associated organizations are mostly focused on one issue area. While the movement platform parties' positions are close to the movements' demands on this issue, most movement platform parties broaden their issue agenda over time. They still stress the core issue and in fact rely on it to engage their core electorate (see chapter 5), but they require party elites that are on the party line beyond that central issue (e.g., interview 020308). Green Party elites in Germany recalled past occasions in which outsiders as candidates or MPs had created difficulties for the party, because they voiced positions not in line with the party platform (interview 010305) and "had not learned how to behave in a party" (interview 010308). Finally, time constraints are another reason why party and movement elites do not overlap. Significant activity in both the party and movement is not possible because of the time requirements for each (interviews 010103, 010105, 020308) and since vast amounts of available time are a central prerequisite for political candidates (interview 020104).

While the organizational demands of political parties prevent them from including many elites with strong movement backgrounds, moving from parties into movements is also uncommon. In addition to SMOs' sensitivity to party links in general, the lack of the resources available to movement organizations makes positions in SMOs relatively rare and undesirable for (movement platform) party elites who held positions in parliament or government. A former Green MP in Germany described this as a "structural problem" in comparison to, for instance, the (mainstream) parties of the political right, who have a societal environment consisting of companies, which help to provide career opportunities for former politicians (interview 010307). In contrast to this, environmental organizations in both Germany and Sweden are not seen as providing attractive career paths for former party elites due to a lack of resources (inter-

views 010305, 020301, 020303), including a lack of organizational support for their elites (interview 010305).

This lack of resources and the resulting need to target the existing ones carefully also contributes to the organizational separation between movement platform parties and movements beyond the elite sphere. SMOs concentrate on lobbying parliamentary groups rather than party organizations themselves (interview 010410), because of limited resources and their general policy-focused approach. Thus, where they interact with parties they do not interact with those party actors that are most likely to think about long-term cooperation with civil society, but with Members of Parliament and their staff, who are usually focused on the specific policy proposals in front of them. But even if they were to increasingly engage with the actual party organizations, cooperation would be problematic since small movement platform parties do not necessarily have sufficient funding to employ enough staff to organize long-term cooperation (interviews 010302, 020101, 020102).

Development over Time

The previous discussion mainly focused on highlighting factors that keep movement platform parties and movements organizationally separate and are consistent over time. The findings, for instance, indicate that Pirate parties, as movement platform parties still relatively close to their movement roots in terms of time, and Green parties, thirty or more years removed from their movement origins, are both organizationally separate from the movements, because the latter perceive connections as threatening their influence on other (often more power-

ful) political parties. The same held true for the Greens, even in their early days, as one former party leader of Miljöpartiet recalled:

> We talked with them [the "alternative movement"] [...] But you know these movements, they are basically non-parliamentarian. They are pressure groups. They want to have contacts with all existing parties [...] [why would they] risk their position by supporting a new party which they wouldn't know if it will succeed or not. (interview 020308)

Thus, while some of the most important factors leading to and continuing to ensure organizational separation are constant over time, time and changing movement structures and mobilization did have an additional influence on this separation. With the demobilization of strong grassroots movements, the incentives for cooperation have shifted away from direct interactions to the current model of clear organizational separation accompanied by programmatic proximity. First, demobilization led to a lower mobilization potential for social movements, which accordingly became less attractive partners for movement platform parties (interview 010302). A former Green MP in Germany described the current environmental organization as "not very able to conduct campaigns"[11] (interview 010308). The Swedish Pirates are also going through a process in which the movement demobilized and SMOs ceased to be active, with activists either being soaked up by the state (through employment) or by the Pirates themselves, leaving the party without clear attractive partners to connect with in civil society (interview 020103).

Second, with the institutionalization of movements, some of the reasons for the original cooperation and organizational connections between movement platform parties and movements became obsolete. In Germany, for instance,

[11] "nicht sehr kampagnenfähig" in German.

where state funding of parties is relatively generous,[12] the Green Party had established so-called "Eco-Funds," which it used to channel money into grassroots movement projects, like the founding of organic grocery stores (interview 010305). With the institutionalization of the movements, their ability to raise funds on their own increased. In the case of organic grocery stores, for instance, gaining access to credits from banks, which was highly problematic in the early days of the movement, has become easier (interview 010305). Furthermore, the professionalization of the party itself increased its own financial needs, which eventually led to an abolition of the "Eco-Funds" in their original form (interview 010305) and a separation of party and movements structures.[13]

Conclusions

This chapter has demonstrated that the organizational separation of movement platform parties from movements is driven by movement organizations' desire to be genuinely non-partisan in order to increase their support base and influence over other political parties, as well as skepticism towards parties more generally. Thus the evidence strongly supports some of the theoretical expectations outlined at the beginning of this chapter.[14] By contrast, the expectation that radical flank effects play in important role in stabilizing organizational separation receives only very limited support. Party leaders lack the resources to

[12] State funding is tied to a certain level of electoral support for the parties, though.

[13] A third reason highlighted by the interviewee was changes in party financing that made financing external actors less attractive (interview 010305).

[14] Note, however, that the expectation that movement elites are skeptical of parties is grounded in the characteristics of New Social Movements. The relevant environmental movements here are/were NSMs and the digital movements show many of their characteristics. How far these results travel to other movements, like those on the radical right, is an empirical and open question.

prevent organizational separation, but very few of them highlighted realizing positive radical flank effects as a focus of their work.[15] The chapter also identified occasionally occurring strategic benefits, like SMOs' increased ability to build cross-party alliances, and a number of organizational demands as well as the lack of resources to engage in cooperation on both sides as additional factors that stabilize organizational separation.

Thus, social movement organizations are the driving forces of organizational separation. This finding stands in contrast to a) the expectations in the literature based on the evolution of older movement parties, b) some accounts of the development of contemporary, especially Green, parties with movement roots, and c) standard theories of organizational change in political parties. The literature on Social Democratic parties showed that their weakened organizational links to movements are the result of a long-term development in which parties first weakened programmatic links in order to attract more voters (Przeworski & Sprague 1986). The weakening of organizational links, like the end of collective membership in parties and trade unions, followed later as a result of the programmatic estrangement. Thus for the Socialists, the parties, and not – as in the post-1945 cases – the movements, were the actor forcing organizational separation.

Second, following in the tradition of research on Social Democrats, some scholarly work, like Hoffmann (2002) regarding the German Greens, has argued that the organizational separation of newer parties from their movement origins was driven by the imperatives of "parliamentarisation and professionalisation"

[15] In light of many SMOs' preference to be able to work with parties across the political spectrum, it is perhaps not surprising that these SMOs cannot play the role of a radical flank to movement platform parties, as radicalism would inhibit working relationships with many other parties.

(Hoffmann 2002, p. 72), as well as parties' policy and personnel choices (e.g. Hoffmann (2002, p. 80)). That is, in this view the organizational divergence was, like that of Social Democrats, driven by party decision-making and preferences. Yet, as the evidence in this chapter has shown, party elites often voice preferences for closer cooperation and movement elites do not point to specific party decisions, but rather fundamental concerns about parties and engaging in party-politics as the reasons for their decision to separate organizationally.

Third, theories of organizational change in parties expect that change to be driven by dominant coalitions within parties (Harmel & Janda 1994) and conceptualize environmental change as the result of accidental, periodic, or election-performance related factors (Appleton & Ward 1997). They do not, however, consider the influence other actors, like movements, might have on parties. The relevance of external actors for party evolution, as demonstrated in this chapter, has also been identified in other cases, though. David Samuels (2004), for example, has shown that the Brazilian Workers' Party's turn towards more pragmatic positions was among other things possible because its societal environment, the trade unions in particular, made the same move over time (Samuels 2004, pp. 1007-1008). Thus, while in the Brazilian case change in external actors allowed party organizational change, for the movement platform parties in this study the preferences of external movement actors were actively drove the organizational separation of the party and movement and maintain it to this day.

A scenario in which SMOs might want to return to closer organizational connections with the party they once spawned is currently hard to imagine. The labor union movement was often faced with state repression and a hostile envi-

ronment (e.g. Bartolini (2000, p. 256) leaving it with no other partners than the Social Democratic parties. A similar situation is unlikely to arise for most social movements in advanced industrialized democracies. Another factor creating interest in closer organizational links would be the availability of larger, more powerful parties with movement roots, which would hold a stronger promise of influencing policy outcomes for SMOs. The new anti-austerity parties in Southern Europe are an interesting case in that respect. I will return to these recent developments and their implications in the conclusion (see chapter 7). The following chapter will focus on explaining why, in the absence of organizational links, parties with movement roots after the Second World War did not follow their Social Democratic predecessors and adopt catch-all platforms.

CHAPTER 5

ISSUE VOTERS AND ELITE STRATEGIES: WHY PARTIES RETAIN PROGRAMMATIC LINKS TO MOVEMENTS

After the previous chapter has illuminated the reasons for the (early) organizational split between parties and the movements that gave rise to them, this chapter will focus on the factors that drive the continued programmatic connection. Why have post-1945 movement parties, after separating organizationally, not also left their programmatic focus behind and aimed for a transition to the electoral-professional party model? As laid out in in chapter 2, I argue that the movement platform party model is attractive to movement parties, because their original programmatic focus remains central for attracting electoral support in party systems in which the mainstream parties have successfully occupied most other political space.

This chapter investigates these theoretical considerations by drawing on survey data on European voters. It first demonstrates that movement platform parties indeed gain central parts of their support from those voters who have deep concerns about the core issues of movement platform parties. In a second step, the chapter explores the observable implications for the government participation of movement platform parties and shows that these parties are electorally punished if they do not behave in a policy-seeking fashion while in government. Finally, the chapter uses interview data to establish that social movement and party elites are well aware of the policy-seeking focus of movement platform parties' core electorates and strategically react to it. Movement organizations use the situation to exert pressure on movement platform parties by holding them publicly accountable, while party leaders carefully craft their

message around their parties' core issues.

Movement Platform Parties and Voters: The Impact of Issue Voting

This section tests the theory, outlined in detail in chapter 2, that movement (platform) parties cannot break with their programmatic origins, because they rely on programmatically motivated issue voters, who would dessert these parties if they moved away from their issue focus. The next section introduces the data from two waves of the European Election Studies (EES) used to investigate whether movement platform parties do indeed continue to rely on voters demanding a focus on the relevant movement's core issues. It also discusses the type of regression analysis used to analyze the data, before another section presents the results of these regression models.

Methods, Data, and Operationalization

The theory expects movement platform parties to rely on issue voters that, in many cases even decades after the parties were founded, continue to strongly value a focus on the core issue of a specific movement and an "associated" movement platform party. Thus we should observe voters with a programmatic focus on a movement platform party family's core issue to be significantly more likely to vote for a movement platform party in that family.

Hypothesis 1: Voters focused on the core issue of a movement platform party are significantly more likely to cast a vote for that party.

Moreover, these parties should have few other programmatic avenues open to them for the purpose of attracting voters. That is, a focus on other issues should either not attract voters to the movement platform party at all, or its contribution to parties' electoral appeal should be far smaller than that of their core issue.

Hypothesis 2: The effect of movement platform parties' core issues to the parties' electoral appeal outweighs that of any other issue.

In order to test these expectations, I merged data from the 1999 and 2009 waves of the European Election Studies, which contain information both on individual's vote choice and programmatic orientations.[1]

The dependent variable, vote choice, was operationalized as the party a respondent voted for in the last national election. This is preferable to using vote choice in the European election, which was also polled, because the national level is the context in which political competition and movement activity remain centered. Accordingly, I created dummy variables for voting for one of the three Western European movement platform party families (Green, regionalist, and radical right parties).[2] A full list of the included movement platform parties can be found in Table D.1 in the appendix.

The main independent variable – the desire for the provision of concrete programmatic linkages – is operationalized relying on a question asking the respondents about the three most important issues facing the country.[3] Based on

[1]The 2004 wave of the EES adopted dramatically varying ways of polling and coding data on programmatic orientations across countries that cannot be meaningfully standardized. Thus this wave had to be excluded from this study.

[2]Since only four survey respondents voted for a Pirate Party the analyses were limited to the remaining three party families.

[3]The 2009 wave limited answers to three issues, while the 1999 wave allowed more answers.

the responses to this item, I created variables that identify whether a respondent mentioned an issue at the heart of a specific movement and movement platform party family as one of the most important problems.[4] In that way three dummy variables corresponding to the core issues of Green, radical right, and regionalist parties were created, which take the value of one if the respondent mentioned environmental, immigration-related, or regional concerns, respectively.[5] As hypothesis 1 expects, if movement platform parties do rely on issue voters, the results of the analysis should demonstrate that voters with an issue focus that corresponds to a specific movement platform party should be significantly more likely to vote for that party. Table 5.1 summarizes this data by presenting descriptive statistics on the dependent and main independent variables, as well as included number of parties and countries.

Hypothesis 2 expects that movement platform parties have few issues beyond their core issue at their disposal on which they can develop further programmatic linkages and become less reliant on their original programmatic connection a movement. In order to test this hypothesis I created further dummy variables summarizing other central issues of partisan competition centering on the economy, welfare policy, democracy and good governance, law & order

In order to ensure comparability I included only the answers regarding the first three problems for the 1999 wave.

[4]The use of scales based on the number of times a respondent identified an issue as among the most important ones facing the country was prohibited by the limited number of respondents who repeatedly named the same issue. For instance, in the countries included in this analysis only 54 voters named two issues associated with the environmental movement (and Green Parties) and only one respondent named three.

[5]See the appendix for details about the issue concerns that comprise the three issue dummies. Note that the "regionalist" and "immigration" concern categories overlap by one category of issue concern recorded in the EES waves. "Ethnic minorities" can reasonably refer to either the status of a distinct domestic ethnic minority, like Swedish-speaking Finns, and thus express a regionalist concern or to the integration of minorities that have immigrated to the country recently, and thus refer to (anti-)immigrant concerns. Including respondents who mention "ethnic minorities" in both categories controls for the possibility that respondents were referring to one or the other concern and thus represents a conservative approach to testing the hypotheses.

policies, foreign policy, and the European Union.[6]

Table 5.1: Descriptive Statistics

Models	Greens	Radical Right	Regionalists
Vote Choice			
no	17245	17316	10370
yes	1327	732	537
Programmatic Concerns			
no	18343	17610	11896
yes	2513	2643	327
Number of Countries	12	10	6
Number of movement platform parties	15	16	22

The models estimated below control for standard socio-demographic and political variables that are known to affect vote choice. Specifically, measures of political ideology along the left/right dimension, education, gender and age are included (for details regarding the operationalization, see table 5.2). The inclusion of "generalized" political ideology and an item for programmatic concerns regarding the economy allows testing the assumption that the included movement platform parties mainly compete on a dimension distinct from the main economic left/right divide (see chapter 7 for a discussion of the economically-oriented movement parties that have arisen in Southern Europe after the debt crisis). If the theory laid out above is correct we should observe two results. First, that movement platform parties do not attract voters through linkages regarding economic concerns, potentially to such a degree that economically motivated voters are discouraged from supporting these parties. That is, the effect

[6]See the appendix for details about the issue concerns that comprise the these issue dummies (see appendix E), as well as for descriptive statistics (see table E.4).

for the economic concern dummy should either be not significant or negative and significant.

Second, while there is considerable debate over how exactly a second dimension of competition is constituted and over the issues that constitute central cleavages (e.g., Beramendi et al. (2015), Kriesi (2010), Hooghe, Marks, & Wilson (2002), Inglehart (1997)) most approaches agree that pro-environmental and anti-immigrant stances constitute opposing poles and correlate strongly with other attitudes on that dimension. Thus the additional control for ideology along the left/right dimension mainly captures a divide about (the role of the state in) the economy.[7] A strong and significant coefficient for the core issues of movement platform parties on top of the effects of the generalized left/right control would indicate that the issue space in which movement platform parties compete in is indeed multi-dimensional and their core voters value the additional space these parties occupy.

Countries vary in how proportional their electoral systems are and thus in the likelihood of small parties gaining seats in the legislature. Since most movement platform parties are small, less proportional systems might encourage strategic voting if voters anticipate that these parties will not be able to gain representation. The fault line with respect to the translation of votes into seats does not run strictly between countries with first-past-the-post and those with proportional representation systems, because the latter vary too in how proportionally they translate votes into seats. To account for this, the models estimated below include the least squares index of disproportionality (Gallagher &

[7]The inclusion of a dummy variable for programmatic concerns about the economy does not prevent this, as it only highlights the concern and does not distinguish between positions on the issue. Expressed concern about the environment and immigration, however, will in their vast majority express pro-environmental and anti-immigrant stances and thus control for the "left/libertarian" and "right/authoritarian" poles of this second dimension.

Mitchell 2005, Gallagher 1991) as an additional control.[8]

Table 5.2: Independent Variables in Multi-Level Complementary Log-Log Regression Models

Independent Variable	Description
Programmatic concern	Dummies for mentioning at least one issue among the three most important issues facing the country, 0=not mentioned, 1=mentioned
Political Ideology	Self-placement; from 0=left to 9=right
Education	In years when full-time education was completed
Gender	0=male, 1=female
Age	In years
Electoral System	Least Squares Index; 0-100, with lower values indicating lower disproportionality

The dependent variable's distribution is highly skewed towards the zero-outcome (not having voted for the specific movement platform party family in question), since all movement platform parties have relatively small electorates and the overwhelming majority of voters opt to vote for another (mainstream, catch-all) party. Accordingly, a logistic regression, as the standard method for the analysis of categorial dependent variables, is not appropriate in this context, since it is based on the symmetric function. A complementary log-log regression, however, which is based on a non-symmetric function that approaches 1 more slowly than 0, allows the estimation of models with a skewed dependent

[8]The index is given by LSq=$\sqrt{((\sum(s_i - v_i)^2)/2)}$, where s is a party's percentage share of seats and v its percentage share of votes. For this analysis the value is based on the index directly proceeding the election after which the survey was conducted. This is based on the assumption that voters, during the course of the campaign, update their impression of how likely it is that small parties will enter parliament given the electoral rules and the number of parties that have a realistic chance to overcome the electoral hurdles.

variable, such as the ones under consideration here (Long 1997, pp. 51-52). Since the data has a multi-level structure, where respondents are nested in different countries, I rely on a multi-level complementary log-log model.

To summarize the expectations, we should observe significant and strong effects of core programmatic concerns (environment, anti-immigration, regionalism) on the likelihood of casting a vote for a movement platform party, indicating that movement platform parties draw voters mainly through programmatic linkages on their core issues (hypothesis 1). Furthermore, the effects of most other issues in general, and the economy in particular, should either be insignificant or significant and negative, indicating that movement platform parties have few other programmatic links outside of their core issue to attract voters and need to remain centered on their core issue and its alternative dimension of competition. Finally, the effects of the (economic) left/right control should be weaker than those of the programmatic links on the core issue, demonstrating again the centrality of programmatic linkages on the issue focus of the movement that once gave rise to the movement platform party in question (hypothesis 2).

Results

The results of the regression models presented in Table 5.3 strongly support the theoretical expectation that movement platform parties rely on voters valuing programmatic linkages beyond a generalized left/right dimension.

Table 5.3: Multi-Level Complementary Log-Log Estimates of the Effects of Programmatic Concerns and Control Variables on the Likelihood of Voting for Movement Platform Parties

Independent Variable	Parties					
	Greens		Radical Right		Regionalists	
Programmatic concern						
Environment	**.99****	(.07)	-.87**	(.20)	-.37	(.31)
Immigration	-.16	(.10)	**.97****	(.10)	.13	(.17)
Regionalism	.24	(.16)	.11	(.18)	**.56***	(.26)
Economy	-.15*	(.07)	-.26**	(.09)	-.18	(.12)
Welfare Policy	.14*	(.07)	.01	(.11)	-.09	(.14)
Democracy/Governance	.13	(.11)	.22	(.14)	-.00	(.20)
Law & Order	-.01	(.11)	.48**	(.12)	-.14	(.16)
Foreign Policy	-.06	(.14)	.38*	(.15)	.34	(.20)
EU	-.08	(.16)	-.40	(.22)	.18	(.29)
Political Ideology	-.26**	(.01)	.14**	(.02)	-.08**	(.02)
Education	.03**	(.00)	-.05**	(.01)	.01	(.01)
Gender	.19**	(.06)	-.51**	(.08)	-.08	(.10)
Age	-.02**	(.00)	-.01*	(.00)	.01	(.00)
Electoral System	.06	(.04)	-.10*	(.04)	-.04	(.04)
Wave: 2009	.13	(.07)	.21*	(.10)	-.13	(.15)
Random Intercept Variance	1.82		.52		.21	
	(.90)		(.26)		(.14)	
Chi^2 test of rho = 0	328.79**		186.78**		48.16**	
Pseudo-log-likelihood	-3403.35		-2136.36		-1569.22	
Number of Observations	15941		14775		8394	

Cells contain coefficient (standard error); $**p < .01$; $*p < .05$ (two-tailed test)

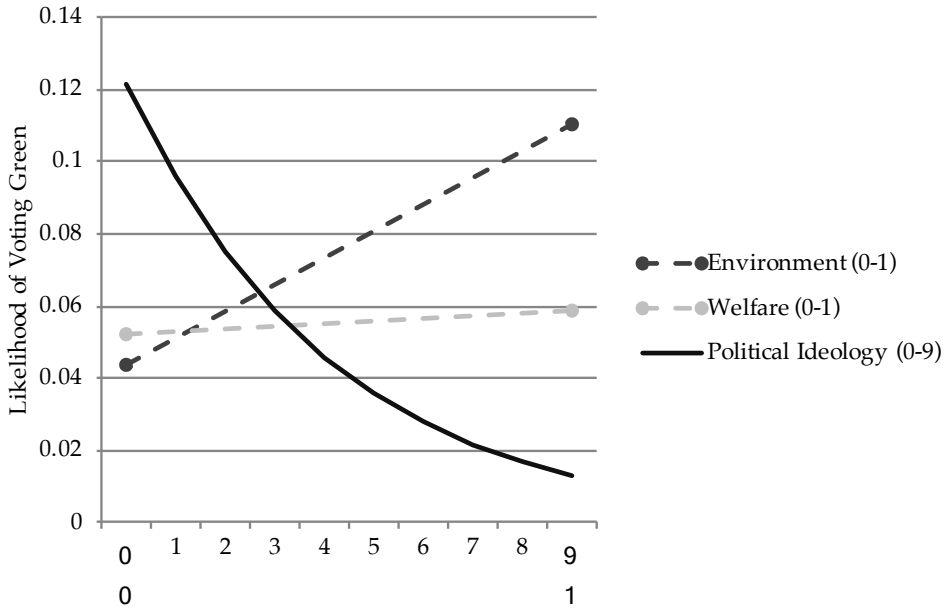
Considering the core issue of a movement platform party family a central

problem facing the country significantly and strongly raises the likelihood of casting a vote for that party (cf., the bolded coefficients). Moreover, as expected, voters whose central concerns focus on the economy are significantly less likely to cast a vote for either Green or radical right parties. That is, these parties do not mainly function as a vehicle for protest voters who are disappointed with the mainstream parties and the economic performance they provide, but are supported by strong issue-voting. Additionally, all three party families have few other issues beyond their core issues on which they can successfully engage voters.

Figures 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3 below present the predicted probabilities of voting for one of those party families depending on a voter's programmatic focus. In each case they demonstrate that the size of the effects of programmatic core concerns are not only statistically, but also substantively significant. Figure 5.1, for instance, illustrates that caring about the environment more than doubles a voter's likelihood of supporting a Green party (from 4.4% to 11%). That is, movement platform parties increase the likelihood of citizens voting for them by remaining focused and credible on their core issues, since their core electorates are composed of voters for whom these issues are central in their vote decision. Thus, the parties depend on highlighting and competing on another dimension than mainstream parties, which focus on an economically dominated left/right antagonism.[9]

[9]This also implies that mainstream parties cannot simply integrate new dimensions into their appeals and close off the issue space for movement platform parties. When the new issue and a mainstream party's position on the economic left/right dimension are in conflict, mainstream parties will usually act in line with their left/right position, making them less credible regarding the new issue than a movement platform party, which will give preference to the new issue. For instance when economic growth and environmental protection conflict, a Green party will be (seen as) more likely to act in favor of environmental protection than a Social Democratic party, even if the latter has adopted a environmental platform similar to the Greens.

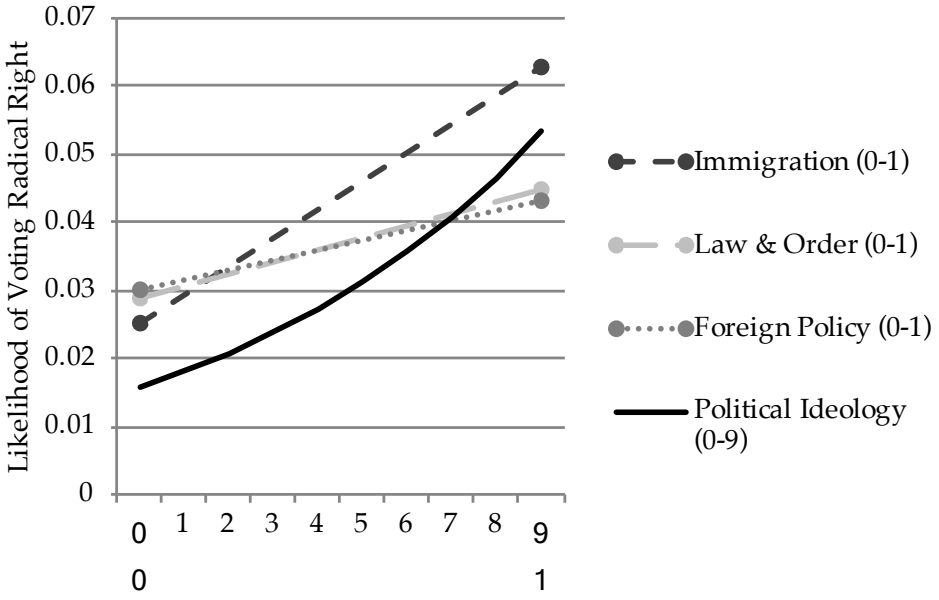
Figure 5.1: Predicted Probabilities of Voting for a Green Party Depending on Programmatic Concern and Political Ideology



Beyond the enormous value of their core issues in terms of mobilizing support, the figures also illustrate that movement platform parties have few other options of engaging their electorate. While Green party voters are more likely to care about issues related to welfare policies, the substantive effect is small. Radical right parties have a few more issues that can potentially attract voters and could serve to broaden their appeal, but again the substantive effects of these issues (foreign policy and law & order policies) are far smaller than getting a voter to consider immigration to be a central issue, as Figure 5.2 illustrates. Moreover, many responses recorded as foreign policy or law & order might also tie back into concerns about immigration, like border control or crimes committed by immigrants. Finally, as Figure 5.3 illustrates, regionalist parties, as a party family, are completely reliant on the regionalist issue to mobilize their electorate.

The effects of programmatic core concerns exist independent of and are ex-

Figure 5.2: Predicted Probabilities of Voting for a Radical Right Party Depending on Programmatic Concern and Political Ideology

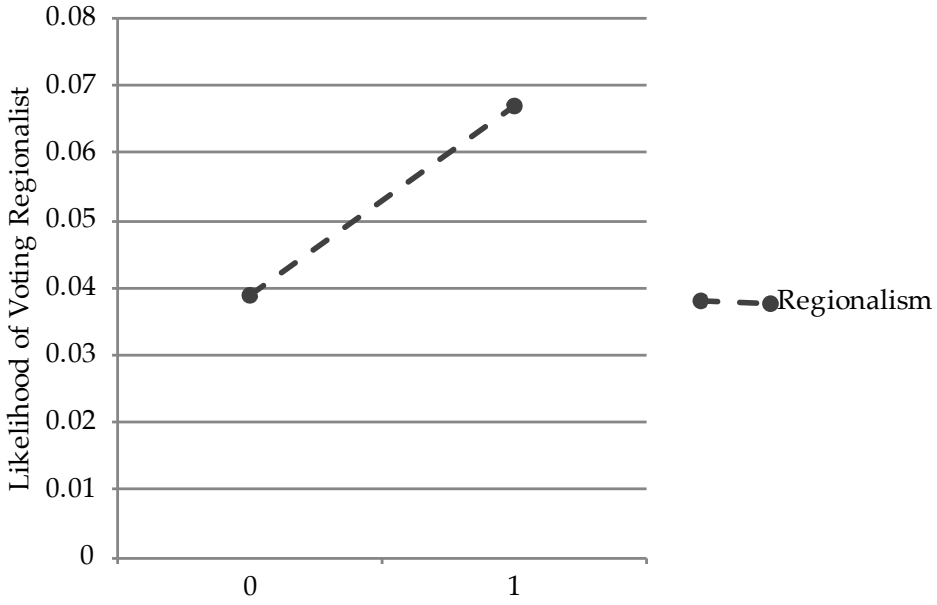


tremely strong compared to the effect of a generalized left/right orientation. Figure 5.1 shows that a voter would need to move about four steps to the left on a ten-point scale in order to increase his or her likelihood of casting a Green vote to similar extent as mentioning the environment as a core concern. This difference in substantive significance is even more pronounced for parties on the radical right, where moving from the extreme left to the extreme right merely increases the likelihood for voting for these parties to the same extent as considering immigration one of the most important problems facing the country.[10]

The control variables reassuringly reproduce existing knowledge about the voters of particular party families. Specifically, Green party supporters are more leftist, female, and have higher levels of education than the supporters of other

[10]Since regionalist parties show significantly more variation with respect to their position along the left/right dimension (Massetti 2009), a comparison of the effect of that dimension to their core issue is not particularly meaningful here.

Figure 5.3: Predicted Probabilities of Voting for a Regionalist Party Depending on Programmatic Concern



parties, while radical right parties have a more right-wing, male, and less educated electorate. It is noteworthy that the level of disproportionality in electoral systems does not affect the likelihood of casting a vote for either green or regionalist parties, indicating that the parties included in the analysis are established enough to not fall victim to strategic voting.[11] Radical right parties on the other hand do worse in countries that translate votes into parliamentary seats more disproportionally.

In sum, this section has found strong support for hypothesis 1 demonstrating that movement platform parties have to rely on their *and the movement's* core issue when mobilizing for elections. It also found support for hypothesis 2 showing that these parties have few issues beyond their core issue on which to engage voters successfully.

[11]See Lublin (2014), though, for a discussion of how electoral systems are decisive factors for regionalist parties across the globe.

Movement Platform Parties in Governments: How Delivering on Core Issues Determines Movement Platform Party Success

The voter base and issue orientation of these voters also have strong implications for movement platform parties' electoral success in relation to their behavior in governments. Theoretically we can distinguish between two dimensions of gains parties on which can deliver (cf. Kitschelt (2006*b*, pp. 283-284).[12] First, whether they can become part of the executive, i.e. procedural gains. Second, whether they are able to deliver the policy change they advocate, i.e. substantive gains. As discussed in chapter 2 and empirically demonstrated in the previous section of this chapter the issue-oriented core electorates of movement platform parties should value substantive gains significantly more than procedural gains.

However, while substantive gains are likely to be more important in the eyes of movement platform party supporters, they are unlikely to operate independent of procedural gains, since the latter determine whether substantive gains are the result of direct action taken by a movement platform party in government or of other parties acting on movement demands, while the movement platform party itself remains in opposition. In this latter case, where the establishment makes clear concessions to the issues highlighted by the movement and movement platform party it spawned, we can expect the latter's appeal to the electorate to shrink. In the face of policy success a significant number of issue-voters will not see the necessity for a dedicated party, since their concerns are addressed (even if that is partially the result of the government acting only to preempt losing votes to the movement platform party).[13] Where, however, the

[12]With this distinction Kitschelt (2006*b*) builds on Gamson's seminal work on social movement success (Gamson 1990).

[13]See Hug (2001) for a similar reasoning regarding the emergence of new parties. He argues

demands are not addressed the necessity for a (new) political actor that aims to provide these changes remains obvious and has electoral appeal.

Thus movement platform parties that make no procedural gains, defined in terms of government participation, should be more successful if the government refuses to make policy concessions towards the movement. The most successful type of movement platform party, however, should be a party that makes inroads both on the procedural and substantial level. A governing movement platform party that delivers on its policy promises has proven that it is a successful vehicle for accomplishing the movement's programmatic goals. Finally, a party that cannot deliver on the substantive level, but has achieved government participation (i.e. procedural gains) should have the least appeal. Its representatives in parliament and government will be perceived as sell-outs who are willing to give up on the movement's goals for the purpose of personal gain in the form of material payoffs and (personal) influence through holding (government) office.

Figure 5.4 below summarizes the expectations generated by the discussion of substantive and procedural gains above with respect to the success of movement platform parties at the ballot box.

Figure 5.4: Predicted Rank-Order of Success of Movement Platform Parties Depending on Procedural and Substantive Gains

		Substantive Gains: Yes	Substantive Gains: No
Procedural Gains	Yes	Most Successful (1)	Least Successful (4)
	No	Third Most Successful (3)	Second Most Successful (2)

that established parties can prevent new parties from becoming relevant players by accepting their policy demands (Hug 2001).

The hypotheses laid out above expect movement platform parties to be linked to their voters not by clientelist promises or through charismatic leaders but through the specific policy programs that they advocate (cf. Kitschelt (2000, pp. 847-851)). Voters will lend and (re)evaluate their support for a movement platform party in the expectation of policy change on core issues, but are uninterested in specific (material) payoffs, e.g. in the form of patronage networks.

As described the following section, I will test these hypotheses using data on Green party success across Europe. The Green family of movement platform parties is an ideal candidate for investigating the relationship between party behavior in government and electoral success, because these parties have been represented in a number of governments and their existence since the late 1970s and early 1980s provides a wealth of time-series data.[14] Since these parties were founded at similar times across the European continent, they have also gone through their evolutionary steps in a similar time-frame and international context, which ensures the comparability across countries.

Moreover, the plentiful research on Green parties has investigated their emergence (see for instance Kitschelt (1988) and Redding & Viterna (1999)), the social structure and attitudinal basis for Green party support (e.g., Dolezal (2010)), and the role of center-left parties and their adaptive strategies (cf., Rohrschneider (1993*b*) and Kitschelt (1994)). Systematic research on the government experience of these parties, however, is much more rare and often limited to (collections of) country-specific studies (see for example the contributions of

[14]The radical right has had fewer periods of government participation, while the Pirates had none. A discussion of regionalist parties with respect to procedural and substantive gains is beyond the scope of this project, since it is greatly complicated by the fact that many of these parties want to break away from the country in which they might achieve policy success or participate in governments. See Lublin (2012) for an example of the research agenda on the relationship between substantive gains in the form of decentralization and the electoral success of regionalist parties.

Deschouwer (2008) and Müller-Rommel & Poguntke (2012)) and a systematic analysis of the relationship between electoral success, substantive gains, and the parties' (policy-seeking) behavior over time is so far lacking. Accordingly this section makes a contribution to the study of Green parties as well as movement platform parties more generally.

Data, Operationalization and Method

Data on electoral results are taken from the "Comparative Political Data Set I" (Armingeon, Gerber, Leimgruber, & Beyeler 2011). Included in the models estimated below are the electoral results of 18 Green Parties in 93 elections across 14 countries (for a total of 107 observations) from 1973 to 2007. A full list of included parties is available in table D.1 in the appendix. Notably excluded is Spain, where Green Parties are split into various regional parties and did not form a significant national party. Notable inclusions are the Socialist People's Party in Denmark[15] and the Socialist Left Party in Norway. Their names notwithstanding, and despite being founded before most Green parties (the Socialist People's Party in 1959 and the Socialist Left Party in 1975, respectively), both have included the core demands of Green movements in their platforms. In both countries no other significant Green Parties exist (Miljøpartiet De Grønne in Norway has received less than one percent of the votes in all national parliamentary elections covered in the time period of this study), and since 2014 the Socialist People's Party has even been a member of the European Green Party, the umbrella organization of Green Parties on the European level.

In order to test the hypotheses laid out in the previous section, I make use

[15]On this party, see also the discussion in the section on Green parties in chapter 3.

of the difference parliamentary systems produce between electoral success in terms of winnings votes and (procedural) success in terms of becoming part of the executive. As opposed to other systems like presidentialism, electoral success and the chance to take responsibility in the executive are not tightly linked and, it is possible to win a significant percentage of votes over a long period of time without ever being part of a government. The Danish Socialist People's Party, discussed above, is an example of this. Since its founding in 1959 it has received between 3.9 and 14.6 percent of the vote in national elections and continuously been represented in parliament with at least seven (and up to 27) seats (out of about 180). Nevertheless, until the electoral victory of the Danish political left in 2011 and the coalition formed afterwards it had never been part of the executive.

All included Western European countries, with the exception of France, follow a parliamentary model. However, even France's semi-presidential system fulfills the requirements of separating electoral success from procedural gains, because only the President is directly elected and he or she still has to appoint a Prime Minister, who needs his or her own majority in parliament. This electoral success directly translates into government participation only for the presidency (for which Greens have never been serious contenders), but not for the parliamentary level.

Accordingly the electoral success of Green Parties in parliamentary elections can serve as the dependent variable in the following analysis and is not synonymous with procedural gains. While the electoral results are the dependent variable, the regression models include the lagged dependent variable on the right-hand side. That is, the model analyzes the variation in electoral support

between electoral cycles within countries and excludes the analysis of varying base levels of support for Green Parties across countries. This modeling strategy takes into account that the theoretical expectations focus on how the behavior of movement platform parties shapes their electoral success, i.e. produces vote gains or losses, rather than on how structural differences between polities create variation in base levels of support for Green parties. That is, electoral success in this section is defined as a positive change in electoral support between two elections, not the overall level of support.

As defined in the previous section, procedural gains are measured by the participation of a Green Party in the executive of a country. Since Green parties have exclusively accomplished this in coalition governments, procedural gains are measured by the percentage of cabinet seats held by a Green Party before the election in question. Operationalizing government participation this way has the advantage of measuring the visibility of the Green Party in government. The underlying assumption is that the more cabinet posts a party holds the more its politicians and the party's participation in government are visible to the general public (e.g., through press conferences or media coverage of their ministries' work).[16] The connection voters can make between the visibility of Green members of the cabinet and the policy gains they deliver (or fail to deliver) is enhanced by Green parties' proclivity to take over cabinet portfolios close to their core issues, like the environmental ministries.

The operationalization of procedural gains as percentage of cabinet portfolios also allows me to test the assumptions of models that expect office-seeking behavior (e.g., Aldrich (2011)), discussed in chapter 2. If their assumptions are

[16]The data was collected from the Political Data Yearbooks of the European Journal of Political Research.

correct, the results should show that more cabinet posts alone lead to more electoral success, because a larger share of government jobs should attract aspiring political entrepreneurs and their voter base to the party.

Measuring substantive gains is less straightforward and presents two related problems. First, a definition of which implemented policies and passed laws represent the success of Green parties is required. Second, these measures of success have to be comparable across countries. This rules out the passing of many types of laws, because of different institutional settings in different countries. Some actions might require a law in one country, while the government can implement similar actions without consulting the legislature in another country. Counting the passing of a law in the former as a success, but not being able to identify a similar success in the latter would obviously bias results. Even focusing on some core demands, independent of the way they are implemented, can be problematic. For instance, Green Parties are united in their rejection of nuclear energy. However, some countries in this study have never relied on nuclear power (e.g. Ireland), some have but decided to phase out all nuclear plants (e.g. Germany[17]), some plan to continue to rely on nuclear energy in the future (e.g. France), and some even fall in middle categories like Denmark, which had experimental research reactors but shut them down. Thus, for instance, counting the decision to phase out all nuclear plants in one country as a substantive gain would not compare to a country without nuclear plants in which that form of substantive gain was never achievable for the Green party.

This analysis solves these problems by focusing on three core demands that

[17]The German story is in fact more complex, as its Social Democratic-Green coalition government decided to phase out nuclear energy in 2000, which was later reversed by a conservative-liberal coalition in 2010. However, the same coalition adopted a new phase out policy after the disaster in Fukushima (and large [movement] protests in Germany) in 2011. See also chapter 6.

Green Parties have traditionally shared across their specific national contexts. The first is simply the recognition of environmental problems as a topic that deserves serious political attention and resources. This is operationalized as whether a government has set up a ministry of the environment that is specifically dedicated to these problems. A dummy variable indicates whether such a ministry was created during the legislative period before the election or not. This dummy returns to zero after one electoral cycle. This is based on the expectation that the public will perceive the creation of the ministry in the short term as the government of the day addressing environmental problems (and a success of the Green party if it is in government at the time) and the government will campaign on it, but it will not be a relevant topic after the next legislative period.[18]

The second demand relates to energy policy. Green Parties have traditionally been supporters of renewable energy sources for at least two reasons. First, because renewable energy allows countries to reduce energy production from nuclear sources and coal and thus their various emissions and harmful effects to the environment. A second reason for supporting the expansion of renewable energy production that has become increasingly important is concern regarding climate change and carbon dioxide emissions. Accordingly the second variable

[18]The data for this was collected from various sources, but predominantly from the websites of the respective ministries and the Political Data Yearbooks of the European Journal of Political Research. Two alternative operationalizations of this variable are conceivable. First, the gain from creating the ministry could exist in the long term, i.e. the dummy should take the value of 1 when a ministry exists in a country and never revert to zero. Second, the existence of a ministry could matter in the long term but only when it was created during the existence of a Green Party (that could continuously point to the act of creation as a sign of the party's relevance) and accordingly the dummy should take the value of 1 only if the ministry was created during a time period in which a Green party competed electorally. Models with both alternative formulations of this variable have been tested and they lead to the same substantive conclusions as the model presented below, although in the latter formulation the interaction term for substantive gains misses conventional levels of significance narrowly (p=.076) with a two-tailed test (which is an extremely conservative test considering the clearly directional hypotheses).

that is used to operationalize the substantive gains of Green Parties is the contribution of renewables to the energy supply[19] of a country as a percentage of total primary energy supply, as reported by the Organization of Economic Developed Countries (OECD) (OECD 2010*b*). The variable is operationalized as a trend variable taking a value of -1 if the contribution of renewables has decreased compared to the last election year, 0 if it has remained constant, and 1 if it has increased.

The third and final indicator focuses directly on the issue of climate change and measures substantive gains in the progress made with respect to reducing carbon dioxide emissions. The raw data is again available through the OECD (OECD 2010*a*) and has also been transformed into a trend variable. This variable is coded as 0 in case emissions in the election year are at the same level as in the previous election year, as -1 in case they have increased, and as 1 in case they have decreased.

Substantive gains measured using these three variables are included in the regression models presented below in the form of a "Substantive Gains Scale." All variables are thought of as equally relevant for determining Green Party success and thus they are all standardized on a range from -1 to 1.[20] The scale measuring the substantive gains of Green Parties is constructed by adding these three variables to create an indicator that could theoretically vary from -3 (for a country in which a ministry of the environment has been abolished, the contribution of renewable energy sources has decreased, and the level of carbon dioxide emissions has risen over the last legislative period) to 3 (describing a

[19]For a definition of primary energy supply see the appendix. See Seeberg (forthcoming, p. 8) for a similar approach drawing on oil consumption to measure the real-world developments regarding the environment in a study of issue ownership.

[20]The ministry variable could theoretically assume the value of -1 if the ministry was abolished, however, empirically this does not occur.

country that has established a ministry of the environment during the last legislative period, has increased the contribution of renewables to its energy mix, and has reduced its carbon dioxide emissions).

Additionally the models include an interaction term between the percentage of cabinet seats held by a Green Party and the Substantive Gains Scale. The assumption here is that the share of credit for substantive gains assigned to a coalition partner increases with the visibility of government participation by that party measured in terms of cabinet seats. That is, the more cabinet seats Green parties hold in a coalition government, the more they will profit electorally from the substantive gains that this government has delivers. With these three variables all four possible combinations of procedural and substantive gains are covered. The coefficient for procedural gains measures the effect of cabinet representation on electoral success for a Green Party that is in government but does not deliver substantive gains. The coefficient for the Substantive Gains Scale indicates the effect of a government without Green party participation delivering environmental polices and the interaction term measures the effect of delivering substantive gains for a Green party in government. The baseline category for all these effects is a Green party without substantive and procedural gains (i.e. a Green party in opposition to a government that does not deliver environmental policies).

The model furthermore includes a control for economic growth. This investigates the possibility that the Green Party vote rises in good economic times, when issues of material welfare are less salient and the policies at the core of the Green agenda receive a higher priority. This reasoning is in line with Inglehart's (1997) arguments about shifting value orientations from materialist to postma-

terialist priorities.[21] Furthermore, it is conceivable that Green parties are treated differently depending on whether they are seen as responsible for the economic development of the time, i.e. whether they are in government or not. Accordingly the models include GDP growth and an interaction with the government participation (i.e. procedural gains) variable.[22] All independent variables described above are summarized in table 5.4 below.

The assumptions for the standard approach to estimating regression models, Ordinary-Least Squares (OLS) regression, are likely to be violated with cross-sectional time series data. One of the main problems is that time series data can include serial-correlation. In the presence of serial correlation OLS estimators remain consistent and unbiased, but since incorrect standard errors will be computed the regular t- and F-tests are not applicable (cf. Gujarati & Porter (2009, p. 452) and Bradley, Huber, Moller, Nielsen, & Stephens (2003, p. 214)). This problem is unlikely to be significant in this particular case, because the time-series is very short, ranging from one to a maximum of fourteen observations for one party. Nevertheless, precautions should be taken. One option is to apply Generalized Least Squares estimation. However, this method has come under criticism for producing "dramatically inaccurate standard errors when used for the type of data commonly analyzed by students of comparative politics" (Beck & Katz 1995, p. 634). The alternative solution suggested by Beck &

[21] I have also run models controlling more directly for the effects of potentially shifting value orientations by including a measure of postmaterialism using Inglehart's 4-item index. The data was taken from several waves of the World Value Survey. It is, however, not available for all election years in all countries. For those elections the data has been calculated by assuming that the percentage of postmaterialists linearly increased (or declined) between the closest years available in the WVS before and after the election in question. Elections before the first and after the last year for which data from WVS is available were dropped from the analysis. This drastically reduces the number of cases from 107 to 62 and the coefficient for postmatrialist values is far from reaching significance.

[22] The data source for GDP growth is the World Bank: http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG

Katz (1995) is the use of OLS-regression with panel-corrected standard errors (Beck & Katz 1995, pp. 640-642). This strategy, however, is not feasible here since it requires observations at common points in time for all panels, which with elections taking place at different times across countries, is not the case for the data analyzed in this section. In order to solve this problem I employ OLS regression using a robust-cluster estimator for the standard errors (cf., Bradley et al. (2003, pp. 213-215)). This estimation technique provides valid standard errors even in the presence of within-unit correlation of errors. Thus, the possible presence of autocorrelation between the different observations will not skew the estimated standard errors.

Table 5.4: Independent Variables in the OLS model

Independent Variable	Description
Procedural gains:	
Government participation	Measured in percentage of cabinet seats held by a Green Party
Substantive Gain Scale composed of:	from -3 to 3
Ministry of the environment	1 for the first election after the ministry of the environment has been set up; 0 if no ministry was created, -1 if the ministry was abolished
Renewable energy	Trend variable: -1=decrease in renewables; 0=no change in renewables; 1=increase in renewables
Carbon dioxide emissions	Trend variable: -1=increase in emissions; 0=no change in emissions; 1=reduction in emissions
Economic growth	GDP growth in percent

Results

The results of the model including the variables described in the previous section are presented in table 5.5 below.[23] The specific hypotheses outlined above are mostly supported by the results of the regression analysis. The coefficient for Green parties in government shows that in cases where these parties do not at the same time deliver on substantive demands, they are considerably punished. Specifically, for each percent of cabinet seats held, they lose .25 percent of electoral support. The effect for the substantive gains scale is insignificant, demonstrating that what a government does regarding environmental policies likely matters very little for future Green party success when the Greens remain in opposition. The positive and significant interaction term between procedural and substantive gains provides clear support for the hypothesis that those Green parties that are part of the government and are able to implement their polices are the most successful type.

With respect to the control variables the coefficients for GDP growth and its interaction with government participation are far from being significant at conventional levels, i.e. economic growth does not influence the electoral success of Green parties. The coefficient for the lagged dependent variable is, as expected, significant and indicates that for every percentage of the vote won

[23]Two further models to check the robustness of these results have also been estimated. The first is a model that excludes the two "socialist-green" parties from Norway and Denmark based on the possibility that these older parties differ from the newer Green parties. Second, a model that adds a measure of electoral thresholds to control for the possibility that, even when only analyzing vote change between electoral cycles and not variation between countries, strategic voting might play a role and, for instance, voters might be more reluctant to vote for a Green party in less proportional systems (i.e. Green parties potential for increasing their vote share could be circumscribed in less proportional countries). These models are presented in tables E.5 and E.6 in the appendix and lead to the same substantial conclusions as the model presented in this section. The control variable for the electoral threshold is far from reaching conventional levels of significance (p=.31).

in the past the party will win almost .7 percentage points at the next election. Thus Green parties have been successful in building a core electorate that votes for these parties on consistent basis. As the results summarized above demonstrate, however, this core electorate shows a tendency to abandon the parties if they do not deliver movement policies when in government.

Table 5.5: OLS Estimates of the Effects of Government Participation, Substantive Gains, Economic Growth on Electoral Success of Green Parties

Independent Variable	Coefficient (standard error)
Government Participation	-.25* (.10)
Substantive Gain Scale	-.04 (.12)
Government Participation*Substantive Gain Scale	.13* (.05)
Economic Growth	-.03 (.08)
Economic Growth *Government Participation	-.01 (.04)
Lagged electoral success	.69* (.07)
Intercept	2.55* (.57)
R^2	.55
Mean Squared Error	2.17
Number of Observations	107

*p <.05 (two-tailed test); standard errors are robust-cluster standard errors

Finally, the coefficient of determination indicates that the independent variables explain about 55% of the variance in electoral success of Green parties. Considering that the regressions are based on macro-level data and include the lagged dependent variable, an indication that other factors, besides those included in this model, are relevant in explaining Green party success.

In sum, the main hypotheses find support. On the one hand, Green parties are heavily punished by their issue-orientated core electorates if they enter governments without delivering substantive gains in their and the movements' key policy area. They are, on the other hand, rewarded if they are able to provide these substantive gains when in government. This clearly identifies Green parties as movement platform parties that are linked to their potential supporters through their policy platforms based on social movement demands. That is, their potential supporters reward policy-seeking behavior and punish pure vote- or office-seeking behavior. This runs counter to the assumptions of models that anticipate government participation alone to have positive effects, because they expect government office to attract additional political entrepreneurs and their voters to the party.

One revision with respect to the hypotheses has to be made: the expectation that governments can preempt Green party success by delivering on the environmental movement's policy demands finds no support. Thus, there is no strategic trade-off for Green strategists between pushing their policy agenda and gaining votes. Accordingly, the results indicate that the electoral success of Green parties in opposition is not affected by the government's policy activity. Thus, in figure 5.4 these two types of movement parties should share an intermediate level of success instead of being rank-ordered. This result makes sense in light of the previously discussed considerations about the core electorates of movement platform parties. They are unlikely to desert the party that is programmatically closest to their issue demands just because another party also acted (once) on these demands. They do, however, punish the movement platform party heavily when it fails to deliver movement policies in a situation where it has the power to do so. This result points to an interesting difference

between factors that influence the likelihood of a new party emerging, which increases when established parties ignore (new) policy demands (see Hug (2001)), and the (continued) electoral success after the emergence, which these results suggest is not influenced by the policies adopted by established (governing) parties.

In sum, this exploration of the influence of government participation and delivering policy gains on the electoral success of movement platform parties has demonstrated that they not only rely on issue-driven voters more generally, but on a discerning core electorate that rewards policy success, when it can be reasonably achieved (i.e. when a movement platform party is in government). This creates further incentives for movement (platform) parties to retain strong programmatic links with the social movement that gave rise to them and to deliver on those demands when in government. That is, electoral success for these parties comes with a clear policy mandate and voters hold the parties accountable for that mandate. I will show in chapter 6 that social movement organizations play a central role in providing movement platform parties' core electorates with the necessary information to distinguish parties that violated their policy mandate from those who stayed true to the movement platform.

The following section will draw on interview data to illuminate how movement elites strategically use the situation movement platform parties find themselves in to exert pressure on these parties and how movement platform party elites react to this pressure and the composition of their voter base.

Movement Platform Parties and Social Movements: How Elites Engage Issue Voters

The previous sections demonstrated that the core electorate of movement platform parties consists of issue-orientated voters who reward policy success. In the following section this chapter explores how this situation shapes the behavior and strategies of movement platform party elites and organizations rooted in the movement that gave rise to these parties. Drawing on the interview data from Sweden and Germany described in chapter 3, this section shows that movement platform party elites are acutely sensitive to their core electorates and to movement organizations' strategies of highlighting their parties' performance on core issues to those electorates. This interplay of the core electorate, movement organizations' efforts to hold movement parties accountable, and movement platform party leaders strategically reacting to this situation explains why these parties have not loosened their programmatic connections to the movements.

Party Elites and Electoral Strategy

The analysis of voter data above demonstrated that movement platform parties rely on a core electorate of issue voters who give preference to dimensions other than the economically dominated left/right divide. The elites of these parties are fully aware of the importance of these voters and adjust how they position the party accordingly. A former member of the national leadership of the German Green Party stated that when the party is working on its platform

those responsible for environmental policy in the party "make sure that [the] environment is the number one issue," because surveys demonstrate that voters "ascribe high competence to us and then there is nothing [no other issue] for a long time" (interview 010303).[24] Thus party elites strategically identify the issues that will electorally benefit their party, and movement platform parties are usually incentivized to almost exclusively stress the issue that originally gave rise to them, in this particular case even more than 30 years after the party was founded. In times of easy access to survey results on issue competence perceptions and voter preferences, party leaders in both the Swedish and German Green Party indicated that these surveys are used to help decide which issues to stress during (electoral) platform formulation processes (interviews 010303; 020303).

This is not to say that movement platform party elites do not want to expand their electorate and address a broader set of voters. Indeed, one former German Green Member of Parliament argued that those organized in environmental movement organizations are not the focus in electoral campaigns, since they are already likely to vote Green (interview 010308). During the 2013 electoral campaign, for instance, the party stood on a platform that emphasized a left-wing profile with respect to tax policy (Rüdig 2014, pp. 160, 163). The election result of 8.4% was a drop of more than two percentage points compared to the previous election in 2009 and especially disappointing for the party in light of polls that had shown the Greens consistently well above ten percent just months before the election (Rüdig 2014, p. 159). Within the party, this outcome was widely interpreted as the result of a campaign strategy that focused on a broader set of issues in an effort to attract non-core voters, while neglect-

[24]That is, this interviewee described a party "owning" a particular issue in the eyes of the public (Petrocik 1996). See also chapter 6.

ing to campaign on environmental issues and failing to successfully promote green issues on the agenda (interviews 010302, 010305). One observer within the Green party saw a "close, close connection" between the relative absence of contact to the social movements and the electoral failure. Specifically, he stated that if the party had foreseen the problems it would have in the 2013 campaign, "one would have had to care about having a core electorate" (interview 010302). Therefore the inability to expand the party base by employing broader programmatic appeals led to a refocusing on core issues and a reinforcement of the movement platform party model.[25]

In sum, party elites consistently argued that a focus on their core issue and their ability to set the agenda in a way that highlights this issue is central to their party's electoral success. This situation has led movement platform party leaders to consciously adopt (issue) niche strategies. As one former member of the national Pirate Party leadership in Sweden put it: "essentially it boils down to how you become loved by five percent so much that they will actually vote for you. And then it doesn't matter what the other 95% thinks" (interview 020107). Thus, these movement platform parties are caught in the same tension between broadening their base and losing core support by deemphasizing original programmatic linkages that their Social Democratic predecessors once faced (Przeworski & Sprague 1986). But while Social Democrats were able to make a breakthrough to mainstream party status because they faced different electoral competition and a relatively less empowered movement base (see the discussion of movement organizations in the next subsection), movement platform parties are often best advised to stick to their party model, which ensures

[25]Within the Swedish Pirate Party, which first entered the European Parliament after the 2009 elections, but lost its representation in the 2014 elections, similar perceptions with respect to the origin of their electoral woes exist. I will discuss the Pirate's failure to establish themselves in the long term in detail in the following chapter.

electoral survival.

Social Movements' Role in Stabilizing and Reinforcing the Movement Platform Party Model

The interviews also revealed the central role movement organizations play in keeping movement platform parties tied to their core issues. Party elites indicated consistently that they are aware that movement organizations keep close tabs on what the movement platform parties do and that these organizations have the means to inform those interested in the party's core issue about the potential failure of the party to deliver on its promises. A key staffer of the German Greens, for instance, stated that criticism is the norm in case movement organizations' issues do not receive ample time during party conventions (interview 010305). Furthermore, conflicts with the movement are not only costly in the moment, but have long-term consequences for the relationship with movement activists, i.e. a significant part of the core electorate of movement platform parties. Decisions regarding nuclear policy made by the German Green party when in government in the late 1990s and early 2000s, for example, continue to have palpable consequences as the party is still being "reproached with the nuclear compromise" and "[anti-nuclear] action-groups believe we [the Green party] could have achieved more or should have made it a coalition question"[26] (interview 010303).

Movement organizations are highly aware of this vulnerability of movement platform parties and strategically make use of it to further their policy goals.

[26]That is, a question on which the party decided whether to stay or break the coalition government with the Social Democrats in which the Greens participated in at the time.

These organizations develop strategies that remind parties of their core electorate's priorities and the organizations' abilities to publicize any party action that would compromise on these policy goals. With respect to the already mentioned debate about nuclear energy in Germany, for instance, one movement leader stated: "the Greens, who very much also publicly cultivate this image that they are the only anti-nuclear party [...], we of course grab them by that image" (interview 010412). Accordingly, the organization devised a strategy before the 2013 election to pressure the Green Party into adopting a faster nuclear phase-out as one of their key demands for a potential participation in government. This organization commissioned a poll showing that Green Party voters overwhelmingly favored a faster phase-out of nuclear energy, and published it in a full page advertisement in the *taz* (interview 010412), a major national newspaper that originated in the same movement contexts that gave rise to the Green party and accordingly is read by many of the parties' core voters. Besides specific campaigns like these, movement organizations have also routinized the ways in which they put pressure on movement platform parties, for instance, through reports summarizing their evaluations of parties' commitments to the movements' core issues published during electoral campaigns (see chapter 6 for a detailed discussion).

In short, the leaders of movement platform parties know that their electoral success depends considerably on highlighting their core issues and that movement organizations have the means to inform their core electorate about any failure to remain focused on these specific programmatic linkages. Accordingly the party elites never diverge too far from focusing their party's efforts on their core issue commitments. In the end it is hardly surprising how acutely aware of movement organizations' strategic choices movement platform party elites are,

considering that these strategies are the exact same ones they decided to apply when they founded their parties. One former member of the national leadership of the Swedish Pirate Party summarized his reasoning for why the party was founded as follows: "as long as they [the movement] weren't a threat to politicians' jobs, they could be safely ignored" (interview 020107). These sentiments are echoed by a former leader of the Swedish Greens when discussing the early days of the party and stating that for policy progress those in power "must feel a threat to lose something from a competitive Green Party" (interview 020308). In their early days movement parties threatened the jobs of mainstream party politicians if the latter did not take action on a new issue dimension. Today movement organizations threaten the jobs of elites in movement turned movement platform parties in case these elites try to shift to a party type programmatically decoupled from the movement. These organizations have the means to achieve this because, as demonstrated above, the voters of movement platform parties are highly issue-focused. This dynamic, driven by SMOs, reinforces the movement platform party model.

Conclusions

Transitioning to a movement platform party model is the logical choice for contemporary movement parties. As the first two sections of this chapter demonstrated movement platform parties' core electorates strongly value programmatic linkages on the parties' core issues and the parties remain reliant on providing these linkages to mobilize support at election time and retain it after periods of government participation. That is even after decades of partisan dealignment in advanced industrialized countries (Dalton 2008, pp. 180-183)

movement platform parties' potential to win support beyond their core voters remains severely limited.

The previous section, moreover, demonstrated that party and movement elites are highly aware of this situation and react accordingly. Party elites position their parties close to movement positions and SMOs take note of any divergence parties might attempt from their core issues and publicize them among the parties' core supporters with potentially devastating electoral consequences. Thus movement platform party leaders' room for maneuver is strongly circumscribed by movement organizations on the one hand and by mainstream parties, that occupy the other issue dimensions, on the other hand.

At the same time, as chapter 4 has demonstrated, movement platform party elites have little choice than to accept the organizational separation, which is driven by SMO elites' desire to maximize their influence on the full set of relevant actors in party politics and civil society. Accordingly, these different incentive structures explain why movement parties in the pre- and post-World War II era evolved differently. An open question that remains is how movement platform parties stay programmatically close to social movements in the absence of any tight organizational links. How do these parties and their elites ensure that fundamental conflict with movement organizations and the loss of their core electorate is avoided? The following chapter will address this question by identifying four distinct mechanisms that lead to a process of programmatic alignment between movement platform parties and the movements from which they originated, even in the absence of organizational connections.

CHAPTER 6

MECHANISMS OF PROGRAMMATIC ALIGNMENT: HOW PARTY PLATFORMS REMAIN TIED TO MOVEMENT DEMANDS

The previous chapter has illustrated that electoral success for movement platform parties depends on these parties' abilities to provide programmatic linkages regarding the core issues of their movement origins. Yet the previous analysis has also demonstrated that movement parties follow the incentives set by their environment and largely decouple organizationally from the movements that gave rise to them. That is, there is almost no routinized coordination or overlap between party and movement elites. This absence of overt coordination raises the question of how the movement platform parties ensure that they remain programmatically aligned with the movement. This chapter draws on interview, survey, and participant observation data from the fieldwork for this project, as well as secondary sources to analyze how the programmatic connection between social movements and the movement platform parties to which they gave rise is maintained.

The chapter demonstrates that programmatic alignment is secured through four distinct mechanisms.[1] First, movement organizations have developed successful ways of exerting pressure on movement platform parties during electoral campaigns by keeping the parties' core electorates informed about the parties' performance. Second, a limited subset of grassroots activists with roots in both the movement and the party, but without leadership positions in either, contribute to the continued programmatic alignment. Third, movement

[1] I follow McAdam, Tarrow, & Tilly (2001) in defining mechanisms as "a delimited class of events that alter relations among specified sets of elements in identical or closely similar ways over a variety of situations" (McAdam, Tarrow, & Tilly 2001, p. 24).

platform party leaders consciously seek to position their parties close to the movement by soliciting advice from movement organizations on a case-by-case basis and by adopting movement demands on their own initiative. Finally, think tanks and political foundations provide brokerage (McAdam, Tarrow, & Tilly 2001, Vasi 2011) through a "non-politicized" environment in which different groups of movement and party elites interact and exchange ideas in irregular intervals.

These mechanisms are initiated by different actors, as summarized in figure 6.1. The "electoral pressure" movement organizations exert during election campaigns center on keeping voters informed. The "grassroots linkage" between movement platform parties and movements occurs on the activist level. Finally, party elites initiate programmatic alignment by seeking movement organizations' advice, independently seeking to remain close to movement positions, and interacting with movement elites through think tanks and political foundations.

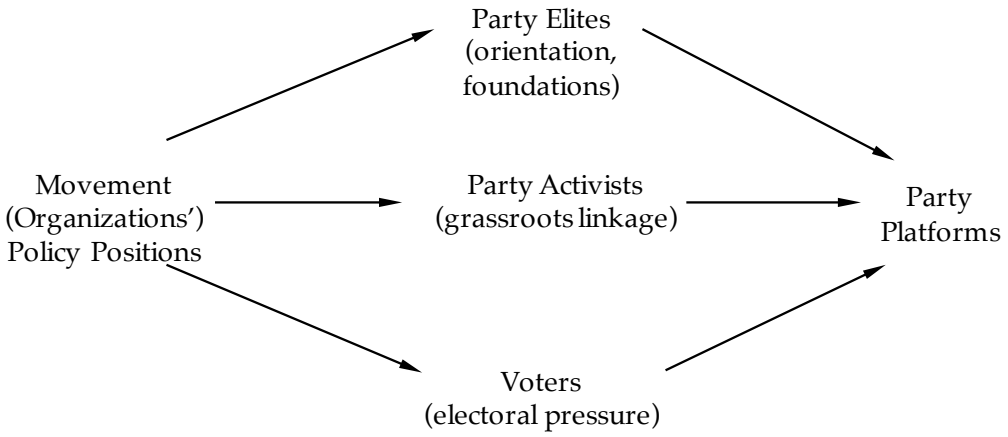


Figure 6.1: Mechanisms of Programmatic Alignment

The strong programmatic orientation on one specific issue area and align-

ment with movement demands that these movement platform parties show contrasts with mainstream, catch-all parties' approaches to platform formulations. As highlighted in chapter 2, since catch-all parties aim at winning support from the broadest possible set of sectors in society, they can neither afford concentrating on one issue area, nor adopting the precise demands of one movement or another for fear of alienating voters (what Kirchheimer (1966) described as "limited integration" between the catch-all party, interest groups, and voters (Kirchheimer 1966, pp. 192-195)). Thus, while movements might try to influence mainstream parties during electoral campaigns in similar ways as movement platform parties, the effect of their efforts will be smaller. The other mechanisms, working through a grassroots linkage, independent orientation of party elites, and think tanks, should be much weaker in connecting civil society to mainstream parties or not exist at all, particularly with regard to party elites adopting specific (movement) demands on their own. Empirical studies have shown this to be the case. Rasmussen & Lindeboom (2013), for instance, in a study of interest group-party relations across three West European countries find these interactions to be only weakly institutionalized.[2] In terms of party politics, once Social Democratic parties sought allies beyond the working class, they were forced to deemphasize their original focus on demands of the working class and union movement (Przeworski & Sprague 1986, pp. 40-52). More recently, Brazil's Workers' Party has undergone a similar process with respect to its platform, as elites tried to transform it into a serious contender for the presidency (Hunter 2010, pp. 106-145). The Catholic laymen's movement driving the establishment of Christian Democratic parties (Kalyvas 1996) has even ceased to exist as a relevant political force and is accordingly not able to exert pressure

[2]Joint policy committees only existed with 3.32% of the 1225 organizations surveyed by Rasmussen & Lindeboom (2013, p. 273).

or serve as a point of reference for programmatic alignment for these parties.

Thus, mainstream parties' incentives for programmatic alignment have shifted away from the movements that once gave rise to them. However, facing an incentive structure that rewards alignment with a movement, as movement platform parties do, is not a guarantee that alignment occurs successfully. Not all parties with contemporary movement roots are successful in drawing on the mechanisms, identified in this chapter, to ensure that their platforms remain close enough to the movements' in order to mobilize their core electorates. After introducing all four mechanisms, this chapter illustrates alignment failure through case studies of the electoral decline of both the Swedish and German Pirate Parties and the role the (absence of) alignment mechanisms played in that development.

Electoral Pressure

As described in chapter 3, the distance between (movement platform) parties and movements grows even larger during electoral campaigns when movement organizations are especially sensitive to being perceived as partisan. Accordingly, many direct interactions come to a temporary halt, which prompted a former leader of the Swedish Greens to describe electoral campaigns as "the time when they [the movement organizations] are most avoiding contact with us" (interview 020307). But since electoral campaigns are a prime opportunity to advocate for issues, elicit politicians' public commitments to policy goals, and get the movements' messages heard by a public that is more attentive to politics than usual, social movement organizations have developed a standardized

repertoire of activities for electoral campaigns. Specifically, across the countries and movements studied in this project, movement organizations publish reports summarizing their evaluations of parties' commitments to the movements' core issues. They also participate in podium discussions with politicians, and organize protests shortly before national elections. Thus, these movements are engaged in what McAdam & Tarrow (2010) describe as "proactive electoral mobilization" (McAdam & Tarrow 2010, p. 533). Movement organizations either see the electoral campaign as an opportunity or a threat to their goals and target voters by providing information. This puts indirect pressure on parties to position themselves in such a way that they do not become the target of a negative report or protest during election campaigns. For politicians leading movement platform parties the pressure is especially strong for two reasons. First, elections are often more threat than opportunity for these parties, because many of them are small and thus have to fear the loss of parliamentary representation. Second, since these parties rely on issue focused core electorates their (potential) voters are likely among those particularly tuned into the information provided by movement organizations.

Many movement organizations publish evaluations regarding the performance of political parties on the movements' core issues during electoral campaigns. About a quarter of the interviewed representatives of movement organizations (25.7%) indicated that these reports are part of their organizations' election campaign activities. These reports are most often based on the answers parties or individual candidates give to surveys sent out by the movement organizations, though the analysis of party platforms occurs, too. Some organizations, like the Swedish Society for Nature Conservation, go even further and include a comparison with the past track record of parties as part of

their reports. These publications allow movement organizations to inform voters about which party is most in line with movement demands without having to issue an explicit endorsement. One movement leader summarized the approach as follows: "One example of what we have done, we send out "election touchstones"[3]. For us that is a very elegant option to participate in the political discourse without having to position ourselves" (interview 010201).

The importance of these reports is recognized by elites in movement platform parties. About 31% of interviewed party leaders independently referenced them when discussing their interactions with movements during electoral campaigns. A former leader of the Swedish Greens stressed the advantages these reports have for the parties and movements:

> So they never came out really [and] say: "Go and vote for the Greens," but [...] before almost every election [...] they have checked the behavior of the parliamentary parties and also checked their programs. And then they make lists and most often the Greens come on top of these lists from their point of view. And I mean then they don't have to add: "Go and vote for the Greens." I mean the message is pretty clear [...] So that's the way it works now and has worked for a couple of decades. (interview 020308)

The Swedish Greens did in fact receive the best evaluations in the Society for Nature Conservation's reports regarding the European election in 2014 and the national elections in the same year (Junker 2014, Naturskyddsföreningen 2014). Miljöpartiet was the only party to receive a 100% ranking from the SNF regarding the national elections, a result which the organization prominently displayed in a bar chart at the top of its website that reported the organization's evaluations (Naturskyddsföreningen 2014).[4]

[3]The German term for a set of questions directed at a political party before an election is "Wahlprüfsteine."

[4]The SNF also took great care, however, not to strike a partisan tone in its reports. While the

The parties do, however, know that they need to respond to movement pressure to get and retain these results in movement organizations' reports. One of Miljöpartiet's Members of Parliament summarized the situation during election campaigns as follows:

> So now for example they are sending us surveys [...] asking us what will the Green Party do in these different topics and what we answer is publicly presented. So they put quite a lot of pressure on us in performing what we are promising [...] and more or less form [...] what we would focus on. (interview 020303)

A second prominent way in which movements seek to put their issues on the agenda and exert pressure on parties are protests SMOs organize during election campaigns. For the movements represented in this study, protests were most prominently used by the digital movement, which has organized a yearly protest against surveillance in Berlin under the title "Freedom not fear"[5] since 2006 (Bartels 2009, p. 128). In both election years since 2006 (2009 and 2013), the protest took place about two weeks before the elections. Similarly, the Pirate Bay Trial, as well as the Swedish Parliament's (affirmative) vote on the European directive to enforce intellectual property (IPRED), led to a massive phase of movement mobilization and activists gathering in Stockholm in early 2009 (interview 020203). Thus, this mobilization occurred right before the European Elections in June of the same year in which the Swedish Pirates achieved their electoral breakthrough.

Protests during an electoral campaign seem to have been employed less by the more institutionalized environmental movements in Germany and Sweden,

Green Party's candidates on average scored the highest results regarding the EU election, the single top candidate was a member of Centerpartiet (the Centre Party is a liberal, center-right party, which originated as a famers' party).

[5] "Freiheit statt Angst" in German.

though there is some protest activity by these movements as well. For instance, during Almedalensveckan, a yearly Swedish event in which each party represented in the national parliament hosts a day of programming on the island of Gotland, the anti-nuclear movement was present with flags during the Green leaders' speech. In that way the activists were visible not only to party elites and supporters, who were present, but also to a national TV audience.[6] In general, however, it seems that protest during electoral campaigns is a strategy pursued by younger, less institutionalized grassroots-orientated organizations and movements. More established organizations might avoid protest because it frequently causes conflicts between the movement and parties about the role parties will play in the protest and how prominent they can present themselves during the protest (see chapter 4). Furthermore, parties are prone to quarrel amongst themselves about these questions and movements risk getting caught up in these disputes. This makes protest a less attractive option for movement organizations with strong lobbying activities, because they might risk damaging their relationships with a political party and its legislators over a (perceived) mistreatment during the protest. Thus, investing in an institutional role creates incentives for SMOs not to engage in extra-institutional protest activities that might jeopardize their relationships with institutional actors and sets limits to how much one organization can combine contentious with institutional activities.

Public podium discussions represent another way in which movement or-

[6]It is notable that the central anti-nuclear organization in Sweden, Folkkampanjen mot Kärnkraft-Kärnvapen (People's Campaign against Nuclear Power-Nuclear Weapons), is frequently described as remaining more oriented towards the original means of movement activism, rather than, for example, directly engaging with political parties (e.g. interviews 020303, 020308). That is, it is the part of the Swedish environmental movement that is least institutionalized. This might indicate an implicit division of labor among movement organizations, with some SMOs focusing on direct lobbying activities, while other continue to engage in more contentious forms of exerting pressure on political parties.

ganizations exert pressure on parties during electoral campaigns. Sometimes these events are hosted by movement organizations themselves. The SNF, for instance, presented the above described report about candidate positions on environmental issues before the European Election at an event to which they also had invited a representative from each evaluated party. These representatives were then given the chance to argue for and defend their party's record and positions (interview 020401). In other cases, third parties such as the media host these events. The German Nature And Biodiversity Conservation Union, for example, co-hosted an event with German public television at which representatives from all parties with seats in the national parliament discussed environmental issues (interview 010406). The inclusion of all relevant parties at both of these events reflects a conscious strategic choice by the SMOs to maintain a non-partisan approach and image (cf. chapter 4). In an interview with the Humanist Union, a German civil rights organization, these public discussion events were directly linked to the non-partisan approach of sending questionnaires to all parties discussed above: "We have done this [hosted a public discussion event] during the last electoral campaign, but then with representatives of all parties and composed on a basis of parity, [...] according to the model of 'election touchstones' " (interview 010206).

In sum, during electoral campaigns movement organizations use a variety of means to exert influence on political parties in general and movement platform parties in particular. These mechanisms do work through making information available (reports, podium discussions) and through demonstrating public support for an issue by mobilizing for protests. Thus, these activities aim at raising the salience of an issue and to increase parties' stakes of ignoring the issue. During those efforts the SMOs take increased care not to be perceived as parti-

san. Movement organizations achieve this by engaging with all parties in the same way: evaluating all parties on the basis of the same issues or questions, restricting the role parties play in supporting protests, and inviting all relevant or at least several parties to public discussion events. The effect of their activities, however, will on average be larger for movement platform parties, because these parties' core electorates will be tuned into the movement organizations' advice. This is because these core electorates make their vote decisions based on the movements' central issues, as opposed to average voters, who are likely to focus on a broader range of issues.

Outside of campaign seasons, however, more direct interactions between movement platform parties and the movements that gave rise to them are more frequent and different in nature than the movements' interactions with mainstream parties. That is, the relationship between movements and movement platform parties varies systematically with the electoral calendar. The following sections illuminate how the programmatic linkage is maintained when no election is scheduled in the near future.

Grassroots Linkage: Movement Activists as Party Activists

Party elites indicated that an overlap between party members and movement activists shapes the platforms of movement platform parties. About 38% of the interviewed party leaders observed that party members who are also movement activists bring ideas, frames, and policy goals from the movement into the process through which the parties formulate their platforms. The results of the party member survey support this conclusion with about 38% of mem-

bers (and 44.3% of members who had also been active in the environmental or anti-nuclear movement) stating that their work within Milöpartiet had been influenced by their movement activity. Respondents, for instance, indicated that they had drawn ideas for the party platform from their movement activities. Similarly, a German Green Member of Parliament described how anti-fracking initiatives had influenced the party platform "partially not directly, but through Green members who made specific proposals here at the party convention" (interview 010304).

Most party elites see this mechanism as working mostly at the grassroots (10 of the 12 interviewees who made reference to this mechanism and indicated the level at which it works). On the level of elites these kinds of interactions seem to be precluded by the time commitments and intense focus on intra-organizational politics leadership positions within a party or movement require, which prompted one German former Green MP to describe this separation of elite spheres as being their "own worlds of life"[7]. She furthermore highlighted the amount of energy spent on intra-movement or party-politics:

> The competition among the environmental associations and what happens within the environmental associations absorbs probably more energy than they are actually are in communication with politics. And that applies vice versa. Politics and what happens within the parliamentary group and within the party and in parliament is significantly more important for many members of parliament than what is somehow trying to influence politics from the outside. (interview 010308)

In order for the remaining overlap on the grassroots to be influential, activists need channels of influence in the party. Thus, the more participatory

[7] "[E]igene Lebenswelten" in German.

nature of these movement platform parties compared to their mainstream catch-all and cartel party competition comes into play. Through these structures party members, who are also movement activists, continue to have a comparatively strong say in developing party and electoral platforms. When asked about the influence of external groups on the party platform, a former member of the national leadership of the German Pirate Party highlighted that there was no "influence of groups as such," but that "where personal overlaps exist texts are certainly being adopted." He continued: "Our electoral law proposal originates with Mehr Demokratie e.V. [More Democracy; a SMO pushing for more direct democratic elements in electoral law]. But I have already said that there are also Pirates who are members of Mehr Demokratie e.V. and that [the Pirates adopting the proposal] is actually because Pirates like the proposal of an NGO and introduce it. But it is not the case that the NGOs or the lobbying organizations approaches us and says: here is our proposal" (interview 010102).

The youth organizations of movement platform parties seem to play a particularly relevant role in bringing movement ideas to parties on the grassroots level.[8] Politicians in the German and Swedish Greens (interviews 010302, 010304, 010306, 020305, 020307), as well as Swedish Pirates (020101, 020105) highlighted the role of their parties' youth organizations in shaping platforms, with one German observer stressing that: "The Green Youth is strongly represented in those movements. And for them the Green Youth is in effect one of those points of connection between a party that one is giving impulses and the network from which they [the movements] originate" (interview 010302). Youth organizations are also perceived to be more contentious and radical than the

[8]In addition to the Green and Pirate parties studied here, Caiani, della Porta, & Wagemann (2012), in a study of online networks, have also identified youth organizations as fulfilling the same linking function between radical right parties in Germany and groups outside of the parties (Caiani, della Porta, & Wagemann 2012, pp. 69-70).

parties themselves. One member of the German Green Party's staff described the role of the youth organization in writing electoral platforms as follows: "And then we have the Green Youth [...], which contributes a lot, gives a lot of impulses. Sometimes it also likes to provoke. And then we have to resolve that through voting, but that is of course part of a democracy" (interview 010306). As the quote indicates those provocations have to a certain extent become routine and a former member of the German Green Party's federal leadership observed that: "there is virtually no party convention where not some group uses the party convention to protest for or against something that the Greens are planning" (interview 010303). That is, just as movements are not unitary actors and some movement organizations work in more contentious ways than others, movement platform parties have internal divisions and groups that are closer or further away from the movements' positions. One way of dealing with this constant simmering conflict are organizational structures and cultures that are tolerant of contention. The German Green's conventions, for instance, consistently provide examples of the routinized way in which the party deals with contention. At Die Grünen's federal convention in February 2014, for example, the proceedings were interrupted by a group of young persons, some of them carrying signs of movement organizations (e.g. BUND and attac), who were protesting against surveillance and the planned transatlantic free trade agreement between the United States and the European Union. Despite interrupting the convention, the protesters were offered the stage by the conference chair (they declined) and received warm applause from the delegates. After a few minutes the convention debate continued and both the conference chair and the following debate speaker thanked the protesters for their contribution.

Thus, having young party and movement activists connecting movement

platform parties to the movements that gave rise to the parties might be an unintended consequence of setting up party youth wings. The creation of these organizations is not necessarily driven by a desire to link to the movement sector, but can be rooted in more short-term and concrete motives. One digital movement activist with insights into how Ung Pirat, the Swedish Pirate Party's youth wing, was set up, for instance, saw the desire to attain the financial support the Swedish state makes available for youth organizations as the central reason for Ung Pirat's founding (interview 020203). Nonetheless, this organization now is the part of the party that retains personal contacts to the movement (interviews 020103, 020203).

Movement organizations, however, do not coordinate or actively encourage influencing parties through an overlap of activists at the grassroots level. In fact, only a single interviewed movement organization leader referred to influencing party platforms in this way. The person representing the German wing of the Free Software Foundation Europe recalled that a part of the Pirate Party's electoral platform followed his organization's demands because "it had been proposed in this way by one of our members [...] Because of that [the proposal] follows our wording rather exactly" (interview 010205).

The overlapping grassroots again highlight the importance of core constituencies for movement platform parties, since not only their voter, but also the movement activist base are recruited from these constituencies. This linkage, however, seems to play a larger role in younger parties, as it was mainly discussed by Pirate Party elites.[9] Beyond those movement activists that were founding members of the parties, the Pirates quickly growing success also attracted additional activists from the digital and other (movement) organi-

[9] 11 out of 15 references to this mechanism were made by Pirate Party leaders.

zations, who, as described by one member of the national leadership of the German Pirates, joined the party to "actively promote their issues" (interview 010105).

Movement Organizations as Points of Orientation for Party Elites: Direct and Indirect Influence

The most common mechanism of programmatic alignment movement platform party elites highlighted was their active efforts to ensure that the party platform matched movement demands. This occurs in two ways. First, leaders within the parties seek the advice of movement organizations on a case-by-case basis (i.e. in a non-institutionalized fashion). Second, movement platform party elites adopt movement demands into party and electoral platforms by taking publicly available information about movement positions into account without active input by the movements themselves. This mechanism is distinct from "electoral pressure," described above, because it operates outside of campaign season and works through party and movement elites rather than informing voters.

Direct influence through advice

Movement platform parties rely on the advice and expertise of movement organizations on a regular basis. The majority of party elites in all four parties referenced eliciting advice and feedback from civil society (64.1%), and representatives of movement organizations mentioned providing such advice to po-

litical parties with a similar frequency (68.6%[10]). This direct contact between the parties and social movements mainly takes place on two occasions. First, during the legislative process when members of parliament reach out to organizations for input in order to form a position on government proposals or develop their own motions. Second, movement platform parties consciously offer movements and their organizations opportunities for influence during the parties' platform formulation processes.

Members of Parliament contact movement-affiliated NGOs for advice and expertise, as well as to make sure that they do not move too far from movements' programmatic demands (77.8% of interviewed party representatives who are or were once members of a parliament made reference to this kind of contact). In these exchanges politicians draw on the knowledge of (scientific) experts in the NGOs to help them formulate positions regarding issues currently before parliament and to develop their own proposals or questions for the government.[11] Usually these kinds of consultations occur through non-public, direct contact between staff at SMOs and members of parliament, but occasionally the consultations are conducted in public ways. At Almedalensveckan 2014, for instance, the Swedish Society of Nature Conservation hosted a panel on waterpower at which representatives of environmental movement organizations,

[10]This number jumps to 74.3% when including organizations that referred to providing advice and input in formal government consultations. That some variation exists with respect to whether movement organizations highlight that they provide advice to political actors points again to different priorities of organizations. While some organizations might focus on institutionalized forms of interactions, including advice, others in the movement might continue to focus on more contentious action. Thus, as with respect to the parties, its is analytically beneficial to treat movements not as unitary actors, but to recognize the diversity of approaches within them.

[11]While younger or more grassroots-orientated movements might find themselves unable to draw on this mechanism, it is notable that among the four movements studied for this project three, including the relatively young German digital movement, had developed the necessary professional expertise and offered clear points of contact. Only the Swedish digital movement was so weakly institutionalized that identifying and contacting the experts within the movement would often have posed problems for politicians.

including the SNF itself and the WWF, answered the questions of politicians from several parties, including the Green Party's environmental spokesperson in the Swedish parliament.

Movement platform parties use these interactions to remain close to the movements. One Green Member of Parliament in Sweden summarized his motivations for getting in touch with movement organizations as follows: "I want to check the course, the direction of my work. Am I right? [...] I pick up the phone. I always know who to call" (interview 020305). A representative of the SMO that this MP stressed as a central point of contact in his work confirmed that the organization occasionally provides advice to politicians, for instance with respect to framing and fact-checking. The representative, however, also stated that personal attributes rather than party-affiliation determine whether politicians seek out the organization's advice (interview 020403). This answer is typical of the attitude with which NGOs approach their direct interactions with politicians. These organizations are usually happy to provide that advice and advance their agenda through these interactions, but they consistently stress that their expertise is equally available to all political parties. In this way the organizations preserve a genuinely non-partisan approach.

However, the use of these contacts and their impact on political parties is not distributed equally across the political spectrum. Movement platform parties have a strong incentive to seek the expertise of the movement that gave rise to them because their issue focus aligns. Accordingly, one representative of the German Environment Aid Association replied to a question about whether some parties are more attentive to the organization's demands:

> Well, that is definitely the Greens, because they of course need the expertise of environmental associations for their issues, which they

> have chosen themselves. That expertise is also needed by other parties, but not as strongly, because they simply do not have these green issues in their platform and also, one has to say, listen more to business associations than the Greens do. (interview 010407)

Movement platform parties seem to seek advice and input from movement organizations especially when they have to make difficult political decisions that could potentially cause conflict with the movement. The German Greens found themselves in that position when, after the 2011 nuclear disaster in Fukushima and massive anti-nuclear protests in Germany,[12] the government decided to initiate a nuclear phase-out. This government, composed of the traditionally pro-nuclear Christian Democratic and Free Democratic parties,[13] published a proposal that envisaged a faster phase-out than the Green Party had been able to negotiate with nuclear power providers when the party was part of a coalition government between 1998 and 2005.[14] The Green Party now had to decide whether to vote in favor of the government's plan, which lagged behind the demands of some movement organizations, or to oppose that plan, which was more progressive than what the party itself had achieved in the past. In that situation the party leadership sought close contacts with movement organization elites (interviews 010406, 010411, 010412, 010413), as one anti-nuclear activist recalled: "And then it was suddenly very, very important to the Greens, to talk with us a lot, so to say. Then there was a special party convention, [and] then two guest speakers from the anti-nuclear movement were invited" (interview 010412). The leadership also held meetings with several organizations to discuss the party's position (interviews 010406, 010412).

[12]The Green Party supported these protests.

[13]The German Free Democratic Party is a center-right, "classical liberal" party.

[14]The phase-out plan had been cancelled by the same Christian Democratic-Liberal coalition that proposed the phase-out after the Fukushima disaster.

The organizations interpreted this behavior as driven by the party's strategic concern to avoid conflict:

> the party leadership and those who were afraid that the Greens would be torn apart internally had an interest in receiving support for their position from important environmental associations. At this point in time they did not seriously believe anymore that they could influence the bill. It was about the question, do they vote in favor or not in the end and will they receive criticism from the environmental associations or not. (interview 010406)

The Green Party leadership eventually settled on supporting the government's proposal and held a special party convention at which it asked party delegates to support the leadership's position. Some movement organizations remained highly critical of this process and the government proposal, like .ausgestrahlt, a prominent anti-nuclear initiative (interview 1010412), while others, like Greenpeace, were supportive of the proposal (interview 010411). The Green leadership used the different positions in the movement to strategically avoid a fundamental clash with the anti-nuclear and environmental movements by highlighting movement positions that were in line with the party leadership's position. One representative of NABU, one of the largest environmental organizations in Germany, for instance, saw the Green Party leadership as employing NABU's position to bolster the party leadership's own standing at the convention (interview 010406).

In the end the party convention endorsed the leadership's position. One Green summarized the reaction of those in the movement who disagreed with the proposal and the Green Party's decision to support it as follows: "They said: 'We do see this differently, but, okay, you [the Greens] have done it this way and we have seen that you have genuinely grappled with this. You have done

a whole party convention on this, which no other party has done, and you have exchanged reasonable arguments and nothing remained [swept] under the carpet' " (interview 010303). In this way the party avoided a clash with and strong criticism from the movement and aligned itself with many of the movement's most prominent organizations at a time when the agenda on the party's and movement's core issue changed rapidly with uncertain consequences.

But while contacts between party and movement elites can lessen the likelihood of conflict between them, they can also be the cause of friction. In some situations the movements become the temporary ally of one wing or group within a party that is in conflict with others within the same party (again highlighting that parties are not unitary actors). One member of the German Greens, for instance, reported lobbying successfully for a party convention guest speaking spot for a movement leader, who shared the criticism she and others had of the party leadership's position on a central environmental issue (interview 010301). Similarly, a representative of the German Bundesverband Bürgerinitiativen Umweltschutz, an umbrella organization for local environmental groups that once played the central role in movement,[15] indicated that the group actively "accompanied" a conflict between a Green local association that broke with its party over the state leadership's policy regarding a local nuclear plant (interview 010405). Thus, the advice sought from movements can be a resource in intra-party conflicts and the cause for a more general mechanism that links parties and movements, which McAdam & Tarrow (2010) have described as "movement-induced party polarization" (McAdam & Tarrow 2013, pp. 332-334).

Besides contacting movements when the party is formulating its position on

[15]See Markham (2005) for a history of the rise and decline of the organization.

proposals in parliament, movement platform parties also seek the input of civil society–in particular those organizations affiliated with the movement that gave rise to the party–when formulating the party platform. The Swedish Green and Pirate parties, for instance, have both adopted platform formulation processes in which the interested public can contribute ideas and proposals online (interviews 020101, 020304). For all parties, movement demands also found their way into discussions of platforms through existing personal contacts with activists in movements and movement organizations. One member of a German state parliament representing the Pirates, for example, described how the party's platform working groups seeks input: "In most cases, [...] the NGOs are asked to answer questions. That is in particular [the case] when new areas are being worked on. But more often [...] there are indeed direct contacts, that members of the NGOs are also members of the Pirate Party or have good contacts with each other and are directly being included in the discussion" (interview 010114).

The more established parties, operating in a more institutionalized movement environment, i.e. the two Green parties, go even further in directly seeking the input of civil society when they write their (election) platforms. A representative of the party platform group of the Swedish Greens recalled their approach as follows: "So it is some sort of more private seminar, where you have the party program group gathered and then you invite three or four, maybe five, organizations and they have ten to fifteen minutes to present something and then we have a discussion for two hours" (interview 020304).[16] The German Greens also conducted meetings with movement groups when working on their platforms (010303) and have sent drafts of platforms to civil society groups to seek

[16]The representative, however, also notes that while environmental organizations were represented in these seminars, there was less contact with more "activist" groups, speculating "that we kind of think that we already have them represented in our party."

their input (interview 010306). In this process the party pays special attention to proposals from environmental groups: "Who, for that matter, is influential regarding the content of the platform are the environmental associations. They also write long things [about] what they think should be in it [the platform] and rather many of those things are then being included" (interview 010305).

The environmental organizations are aware that their influence on the Greens is stronger than on other parties: "with the Greens we have of course a bit more contact. So that one has contacts on the staff level and can maybe exert influence on one or another statement or formulation in the electoral program" (interview 010404). The influence of the central environmental movement organizations on the German Greens is so strong that they in effect have a veto over proposals, because the party leadership anticipates that it could never pass a platform at their convention that the organizations oppose. A former member of the party's federal leadership summarized this as follows: "classically it is the environmental associations who have a strong weight with us. I believe the Greens would not pass a motion at a party convention where BUND and NABU would say: 'Here, you can't do this.' That would certainly have hardly a chance with us" (interview 010303). Thus, the movement organizations can exercise a form of agenda control that allows them to limit the parties' room of programmatic maneuver. This may either occur directly by signaling where the red lines are, but also takes a more indirect form where the movement has created an atmosphere in which party elites keep issues off the agenda if they anticipate fundamental conflict with the movement (what Bachrach & Baratz (1958) identified as the second face of power; cf. also Lukes (1974)).

Through the direct input from movement organizations on their platforms,

movement platform parties ensure that they are positioned close to the movements. The Green parties furthermore occasionally conduct informal exchanges with movement organizations about the topics and issues they expect to be on the agenda in the future or that they plan to place there themselves: "We cooperate sometimes in harmonizing our campaigns. Not formally but we meet up every once in a while and discuss: which topics are you going to focus on and so on" (interview 020303).

For these more established parties the costs of establishing and maintaining direct connections are reduced in two ways. First, party and movement elites often know each other from past interactions and sometimes a shared activist past. One member of the German Green Party's staff summarized this in the following way: "it's partially persons who we already know for many years. Then you do not need a formal email, but one simply meets with them or one meets anyhow at events. Thus, a good network already exists" (interview 010306). This also goes along with a shared social and cultural environment, as a representative of the German chapter of Friends of the Earth remarked: "Well, there is no cultural difference. That is in itself important for the general contact. In part one also knows each other from the same protest, and, what I have said before, there is always this natural understanding that nature and environmental protection are important and we, as representatives of this concern, therefore are too" (interview 010410). These comments were echoed by a former leader of the Swedish Greens: "I mean if you are in this alternative, green movement [...], even if you don't know each other personally, you know that you have something in common, which you don't have if you meet a person from a big business or something like that. I mean it's so clear that you have [...] a general outlook at least that is similar. Which it wouldn't be, not even with a trade

unionist. It wouldn't be the same" (interview 020308).

Second, while the elites of parties and movements are separated, some organizations have staff members who used to work for a movement platform party or vice versa (e.g. interview 020307). Accordingly, these staffers bring their personal networks into the new job and make informal, direct exchanges easier to initiate. However, since many organizations try to limit their visible linkage to parties, and some movement organizations, like Greenpeace, even insist that those working in their political operations are not members of political parties (interview 010411), these connections are relatively rare. They are also harder to maintain for the younger movements and movement platform parties and some accordingly struggle to do so. A representative of the Free Software Foundation Europe in Germany, for instance, reported that valuable contacts with the federal parliament were lost and not replaced when members of parliament, with whom contacts existed, were not reelected (interview 010205).

While there might be a difference in the extent to which newer and more established movement platform parties can draw on direct contacts and the advice of movement organizations, and the interplay is more institutionalized in the Green than the Pirate party cases,[17] both equally rely on the frames, ideas, and demands movement organizations make publicly available. Movement platform party elites consciously use these as points of orientation for their own work. The next subsection discusses this mechanism.

[17] See the case study below on how this mechanism of providing advice failed to fully develop for the German and especially Swedish Pirate parties.

Indirect influence and orientation

Party elites consciously choosing to adopt movement positions and policies in order to avoid conflicts with the movements is an additional way in which parties and movements remain programmatically aligned. Almost half of the interviewed party elites (46.2%) made reference to having independently sought out information about movement demands and followed that position in their work within their respective parties. One Swedish member of parliament for Miljöpartiet described this process as follows:

> To give you one example, we, both the Green Party and Greenpeace, were discussing we need to set a goal for energy policy in Sweden. [...] And they [Greenpeace] set a date to 2030 and it was not a coincidence that we also decided on 2030 as the same goal. Otherwise maybe we would have said 2035 or so, but out of the idea that we want to have the same goal as them, we set the same date for when we want nuclear to be phased out in Sweden. (interview 020303)

This kind of independent orientation ranges from adopting specific policy goals, as described above, to parties directly including movement demands in their platforms. A former member of the German Pirate's federal leadership recalled how the party's platform and behavior were shaped by movement NGOs concerned with increasing democratic participation and transparency: "demands that Mehr Demokratie e.V. made were for instance adopted into the Baden-Württemberg state election platform. Or the Pirate Party has looked at the list of demands of Transparency International and has adopted it as requirements for its own work" (interview 010114).

Beyond influencing policy-making and platforms, party elites mentioned that the work of movement organizations sets the agenda for issues that move-

ment platform parties pick up. A former party leader of the Swedish Greens described how environmental organizations influence party behavior:

> If they [the Swedish Society for Nature Conservation] or Greenpeace or someone would have a initiative and trying to raise a certain issue, it would be quite probable that one or two of the Green parliamentarians would take that up and do something about it politically, like put [a] question to [the] minister [...] Not as an official cooperation, but because when they have their campaigns it affects us and we see that and we realize that this issue is actually something that we should do something about. And then we will take the initiative from them and forward it to the parliament in some way. (interview 020307)

The survey of Miljöpartiet's members further highlights the importance of publicly available information from movement organizations. Table 6.1 summarizes the extent to which different subsets of survey respondents relied on NGOs for their political information. That is, to what extent these respondents are aware of and can draw on the policy positions of civil society organizations when formulating policies.

Table 6.1: NGOs as Source for Political Information in %

	Party Members	Office Holders	Party Elites
often	29.53	31.65	45.45
sometimes	46.98	49.37	42.42
rarely	18.79	15.19	12.12
never	4.70	3.80	0
N	149	79	33

Office Holders are the subset of Party Members holding any public or party office, while Party Elites are defined as those members holding office above the local level, i.e. are a subset of Office Holders.

The data shows that the vast majority of party members are tuned in to the messages of NGOs, as 76.5% often or sometimes rely on these organizations for their political information. Among survey respondents NGOs rivaled TV in importance, which 71.7% of respondents named as an information source they relied on often or sometimes.[18]

Movement organizations are well aware that they exert pressure on movement platform parties simply by making their positions publicly known, which leaves the party the option of adopting the position or creating a (public) conflict with the movement. For the movement organizations this has the added advantage of allowing them to exert this influence without interacting with a party directly and taking on the accompanying risk of being perceived as partisan. A representative of the German Nature And Biodiversity Conservation Union summarized this as follows: "we don't say, we advise the Greens to do this or that, but we say the NABU demands this or that or the NABU supports the government's proposal for this or that. And by making our position public, journalists will look at whether that is congruent with what the Greens say or whether there is a discrepancy" (interview 010406). Similarly movement organizations consciously exert their influence on agenda setting: "we don't have the resources to massively conduct lobbying [...], but simply because we continuously report [on internet policy], we do engage in some form of agenda setting" (interview 010210).

Again, the movement organizations' work is non-partisan, but since the movement platform parties remain focused on their original core issues, the influence of these publicly available policy positions and agenda setting efforts

[18] 27.6% indicated they relied on TV for political information sometimes and 44.1% did so often.

is largest on the movement platform parties, as already described regarding direct advice above. Occasionally the independent efforts of party elites to stay close to the movements lead to programmatic alignment that is so close that movement organizations consider lobbying movement platform parties a very low priority, since these parties are seen by movement elites as "already on our side" (interview 020401).

In sum, by publicizing their positions movement organizations strongly influence movement platform parties, whose elites have clear incentives to adopt movement policy demands and frames independently. In this way the movements transfer innovations like new frames into the party political arena (c.f. McAdam & Tarrow (2010) on transferable innovations). A member of Miljöpartiet's national leadership, for instance, described observing developments in civil society to decide how to position the party. The interviewee indicated that the emergence of parent and grandparent organizations concerned with global warming, which framed the fight against climate change as a generational issue, was instructive for their work (interview 020302).

The two types of orientation mechanisms described in this section seem to be more important for more established movement platform parties, as they can rely less on activists that are solidly rooted in both the party and the movement to remain aligned with the movement (see above). Thus, it seems possible that the grassroots linkage is over time and with the transition to the movement platform party model, replaced by the orientation mechanism. That is, while early in their development parties arising from a social movement continue to connect to the movement through shared activists, the connection later shifts towards the elite level, where party leaders seek the movement's advice and

independently position the party close to movement demands. This interpretation is in line with the survey data from the Swedish Green Party member survey. While, as mentioned above, a large minority of respondents indicate that their work in Miljöpartiet is influenced by movement activity, the vast majority of respondents also indicate that their focus lies with the political party. As discussed in chapter 3, more than three quarters of the surveyed members (76.2%) reported that they spent more time working for the party than for the movement. Only 14.3% of respondents spent equal time on their party and movement activities and thus could be characterized as truly having roots in both the party and movement. Moreover, those in the latter group spent less than half the time (about 20 hours a month) on party activities than those focused on working within the party, who on average invested about 42 hours a month. This development from connecting on the grassroots level to connecting through party and movement elites could also already be observed within the Pirate Parties in 2013 and 2014 (both parties existed for seven years at the time the interviews were conducted). One German Pirate with movement background, for instance, indicated that the contacts to external groups that were relevant to his work as a member of a state parliament were largely established after he was elected (interview 010101).

Think Tanks and Political Foundations: "Neutral" Agents of Platform Alignment

A final way in which movement platform parties align their platforms with social movement demands works indirectly through foundations or think tanks

affiliated with the movement platform parties. Many parties have created these auxiliary institutions that conduct research, provide policy papers, offer a variety of scholarship, and (in the German cases) engage in the promotion of democracy abroad. The structure of these institutions varies by their national context. They are, for example, relatively well-endowed and large in Germany, where extensive state funding for political foundations is available to parties represented in the federal parliament (Rudzio 2003, pp. 129-135). But in all cases these foundations and think tanks elicit input from outside the party and in that way link movement organizations back to the party and open a channel for movement influence. Thus, the foundations engage in brokerage as defined by McAdam, Tarrow, & Tilly (2001): "the linking of two or more previously unconnected social sites by a unit that mediates their relations with one another and/or with yet other sites" (McAdam, Tarrow, & Tilly 2001, p. 26).[19]

The Pirate parties, as very young political parties, largely lack developed think tanks or foundations. While activists in Germany were actively pursuing the establishment of foundations in a number of working groups in 2013/14 (interviews 010101, 010102, 010103, 010104), the lack of political representation in the federal parliament meant that the party was without access to the necessary financial resources to establish a significant foundation (interview 010107). A nascent foundation, however, exists in the Berlin based "Peira-Gesellschaft für politisches Wagnis" (Peira-Society for Political Audacity) (interviews 010101,

[19]This brokerage takes place on the elite level where it enables previously unconnected elites to interact. Specifically, this is a form of what Vasi (2011) identifies as "itinerant brokerage" in which "the broker belongs to a different group from the actors who need to exchange information"(Vasi 2011, p. 14). In this case the relationship between the broker/think tank and one of the actors, the sponsoring movement platform party, is characterized by extremely high miscibility, because they are strongly connected through elite networks and a shared ideology, while the relationship between the broker and the other actor, the movement, is characterized by medium miscibility, with some personal networks and ideological commonalities (cf. Vasi & Strang (2009)).

010102) in the legal form of a registered society.

The more established Green parties, on the other hand, both created significant foundations or think tanks. The German Greens, represented in the federal parliament since 1983, merged a number of state-based foundations[20] into one federal foundation, named after literature Nobel Prize winner Heinrich Böll, in 1997 (Heinrich Böll Foundation 2015). The Swedish Greens established their own think tank, Cogito, in 2005 with a former party leader, who also served as a Member of Parliament and Member of the European Parliament at different times, as its first president (interview 020306).

These foundations engage with social movement organizations mainly through events hosted by the foundations. One official at wikimedia Germany described the interactions of his organization with party politics as follows: "We don't do joint events with parties at this time, but we move in the same spaces. That is, one point of contact are events of party-affiliated political foundations. Böll, Friedrich Ebert Foundation, sporadically Konrad Adenauer Foundation, too.[21] We are invited to that. Often as participants, occasionally on the podium too and then also partially with active parliamentarians at the same event" (interview 010201).

As this description implies, movement organizations often link up with the whole spectrum of political parties through their affiliated foundations. In fact, about 26% of interviewed movement organizations indicated that they interact with political parties through the party's think tanks and foundations. Considering the often policy-orientated nature of the foundations and think tanks, it

[20]These state foundations had been loosely associated through a federal society previously.

[21]The Friedrich Ebert Foundation and Konrad Adenauer Foundations are associated with the Social Democratic and Christian Democratic parties respectively.

seems likely that this mechanism is especially important with respect to connecting with movements and movement organizations that have developed scientific expertise. The presence of the German Institute for Applied Ecology, whose mission is to conduct research with respect to sustainability, among those highlighting foundations as a link to political parties, supports this inference (interview 010403). It is furthermore noteworthy that all movement organizations that mentioned working with political foundations are located in Germany, where, as described above, foundations are extremely well-resourced.

But while movement organizations engage with many parties in that way, interview partners in the Green parties, of which about 35% described contacts to movements through foundations or think tanks, indicated that their foundations highlight the core issue of their "associated" movements. Accordingly, a member of the staff at Cogito in Sweden reported that the think tank has "been working with most NGOs in Sweden that work on environmental or climate change or the same questions and issues" (interview 020306). Similarly, a member of one of the German Green party's topic-centered working groups indicated that events of the Heinrich Böll Foundation often serve to connect the party with the movement (interview 010301). But while in Sweden Cogito has "no formal connections to them [the environmental and climate change movements]" and contacts occur mostly when the think tank has "a seminar or book launch or a report" (interview 020306), the role of the German Green Party's foundation is occasionally more direct. It, for instance, hosts regular meetings between those working on energy policy in the Green parliamentary group, Green state ministers responsible for energy policy, and the representatives of environmental groups (interview 010308).

Movement organizations are more willing to cooperate with political foundations or think tanks than with the parties themselves. BUND - Friends of the Earth Germany, for instance, cooperated with the Heinrich Böll Foundation on a publication regarding meat consumption, something they "would never do with the Greens" directly (interview 010410). Working with think tanks and foundations as parties' auxiliary organizations significantly limits the SMOs' risk of being criticized as partisan, but allows them valuable means of influencing the parties. As described above, representatives of movement organizations have an opportunity to directly interact with party elites at events hosted by party-affiliated think tanks or political foundations and present their policy demands in these forums. Parties also profit from these interactions by acquiring expertise and movement platform parties in particular can use these interactions to align their platforms with movement demands. A member of Miljöpartiet's platform commission, which was responsible for developing the party's new platform, for example indicated that Cogito was an important point of orientation for the group when working on the platform (interview 020304). Furthermore, the foundations and think tanks are seen within the parties as providing the space for programmatic debate (interview 010302).

But even though foundations and think tanks are somewhat removed from the political parties they are affiliated with, movement organizations still are extremely careful not to expose themselves to charges of partisan bias. They do so by two means. First, as already described above, they do not only engage with a think tank or foundation of the movement platform party closest to them, but with a broad range of party affiliated auxiliary institutions and thus maintain their non-partisan approach. Second, even when cooperating they take great care to maintain some distance. While those familiar with the set-up phase of

Cogito reported that working with movements through the think tank was easier than trying to do same as a party politician (interview 020308), efforts to bring the most prominent national environmental organizations into the think tank failed, as discussed in chapter 4, because of the organizations' concerns of being connected to the party (interview 020306).

Case Studies: Pirate Parties and Linkage Failure

The previous discussion of programmatic alignment has demonstrated that social movements and the movement platform parties they gave rise to remain connected through several mechanisms that ensure close programmatic alignment between them. The Pirate parties, however, also represent instructive case studies for a situation in which these mechanisms do not work well or to the necessary extent. The Swedish Pirate Party found itself in an environment in which the movement demobilized quickly after 2009/10 and thus few opportunities existed to link up with movement actors. That is, (contentious) grassroots movement activity dropped off significantly without being replaced by organizational actors. In Germany, the movement institutionalized more successfully, but problems internal to the Pirate Party prevented it from successfully aligning with that movement. This section will discuss how and why the mechanisms of programmatic alignment identified in this chapter failed to function for the Pirate parties and how this contributed to the parties' electoral decline. It thus demonstrates that alignment, even though it is often in the interest of both party and movement, is not an automatically occurring process and in the absence of the necessary conditions fails to materialize.

Sweden: A Demobilizing Movement

The Swedish digital movement experienced an apex of activity in 2009 with file-sharing issues receiving a lot of public attention. As one movement activists recalled: "The IPRED directive is being implemented in Sweden, which causes a lot of debate. And you have the trial on the Pirate Bay taking place in early 2009 [...] Which gathers a lot of people" (interview 020203). At the same time, the young Pirate Party could rely on activists from the movement in their electoral campaign for the European Parliament: "I mean in 2009 I was even helping out with posting flyers [...] You know on the walls: 'Vote for the Pirate Party' [...] And the people, the local Pirates here were very engaged" (interview 020203). It was in this campaign that the party experienced its electoral breakthrough and won 7.1% of the vote, enough for one seat in the European Parliament.[22]

After this period of massive activity, however, the movement in Sweden began to demobilize. The Pirate Bureau, the central nucleus of movement activists from which the Pirate Party had taken its name (and frames), closed down in 2010 (Miegel & Olsson 2012), after its founders felt that they had accomplished many of their goals and one of the co-founders passed away (Van Der Sar 2010) (interview 020203). This demobilization went along with many young activists turning their attention to issues outside of Sweden, like the activities another SMO, Telecomix, organized to support the Arab Spring (interview 020205), as well as turning to work through established institutions: "There was a lot of those kind of movement organizations about the internet, digital rights, and freedoms and recently they have declined. But I think what happened is that

[22]Because the distribution of seats in the European Parliament between member countries was adjusted later during that legislative session Sweden gained seats. One of these was assigned to the Pirates, whose representation accordingly increased to two seats.

a lot of people who were active in those kind of movements, the leadership, they get [...] [absorbed] into the establishment. So now they all [...] work at universities, and work for the government [...]" (interview 020103). This was particularly true for prominent movement leaders:[23]

> A lot of the people that were Swedish and leading in that crop [of activists in Telecomix and the Pirate Bureau], they were absorbed by the government or are finalizing doctoral theses. Sweden is a very small country. So normally when somebody who is somewhat talented reveals themselves, the government machinery will work very hard to absorb them. Especially if they have some kind of socially amicable cause. (interview 020104)

This left Piratpartiet in a situation in which there were few places to turn to for advice or to use as points of orientation, as one of their Members of the European Parliament summarized: "Sweden doesn't have a civil society in this sphere. So it's not possible to have contact with a civil society that doesn't exist" (interview 020104).

Other mechanisms of programmatic alignment also could not work or worked only to a limited extent. The absence of an established think tank connected to the party prevented interactions on that level. Moreover, the particular history of the party, being founded not from the core of the movement, but by a political entrepreneur (see chapter 3), combined with the demobilized movement, led to a limited linkage on the activist level. Even the party's youth wing, which should be expected to have a high overlap, had few members active in the movement, which led a representative of Ung Pirat to observe: "I haven't

[23]This is another difference between newer parties with movement origins and the older, Social Democratic parties. Because many of the newer parties are driven by the middle class, their members and leaders often have individual channels and opportunities for social mobility. This stands in contrast to parties originating in the workers' movement, where those opportunities were scarce for their supporters, who were mostly recruited from the lower classes.

seen this new generation [of activists] coming up." He furthermore described his organization's overlap with the movement as increasingly small: "I know there is a generation of people that have not been active in those kind of social movements" (interview 020103). This perception is shared regarding the party more generally by a central movement activist, who had been working in Piratbyrån: "the generation of party activists today maybe don't really have the insights or the knowledge of the actual [...] history of the Piracy Bureau" (interview 020205).

Furthermore where contacts between party and the remaining activists exist, they are often not seen as productive and the party is not perceived as an effective vehicle for policy change. Asked whether friends in political parties take up the movement's position to lobby for them in their parties, a movement activist replied: "not that often I think. I think one of the reasons is that the Pirate Party in Sweden doesn't really have that much power as a party. So trying to establish political change is often easier when you don't do it through the usual parliamentary system" (interview 020206). Due to the party's limited electoral success and lack of representation in the national parliament, it is also not an attractive target for lobbying by the movement, which has to carefully focus its limited resources. One activist explained Telecomix's approach to influencing political parties as follows: "So very pragmatic in that sense. Where your idea gets the most traction, this is were you will try to frame it. And that's never in the Pirate Party" (interview 020203).

In the absence of a movement from which Piratpartiet could draw frames, ideas, and advice, the party was not able to repeat its 2009 success in the 2010 national elections, where it could not mobilize movement activists to support

its campaign and only gained .65% of the vote. A party activist argued that the a reason for the 2009 success "was because all these different movement organizations, they were working together and helping out the party and in 2010 all those people who were part of the leadership outside of the party for these different movement organizations were not wanting to help out for different reasons, which made the movement weaker" (interview 020103; similar 020203). The party furthermore went through a process to broaden its platform, losing its clear focus on internet issues in the process, because the positions on other issues were not logically derived from and connected back to the party and movement's core issues in the view of one of the party's MEPs: "And so actually it would be more useful for us to look at the implications of our policies and what they logically conclude in other fields, so that we could build some kind of coherent policy framework for ourselves. But it is very difficult for us to do so, I think" (interview 020104). The same MEP further described the problems with respect to the European Election in 2014, which resulted from a lack of programmatic focus:

> now in the election campaigns for the European elections, it is very painfully obvious that we lack people [...] who can and want to do stuff to advance the party's positions. A lot of the leading figures of the party also, including the party leader, spend a lot of time talking about LGBT rights, which is nice and I don't mind it, but I don't see where that makes us different from any other party. [...] *So it is unstrategic populist mobilization around non-core issues, which delegitimizes the existence of the party to begin with, because if we were not the internet party, the people who know these power relations and the creative forces best, then why are we here? Why?* (interview 020104)

This was clearly a problem for a party whose electoral success in 2009 was based on the programmatic linkages it provided with regard to its core issues (Erlingsson & Persson 2011). The party went on to achieve merely 2.2% of the

vote and lost both of its seats in the European Parliament. Its leadership resigned collectively in December 2014 (Sveriges Radio 2014, Piratpartiet 2014) and was not replaced throughout 2015.[24]

Germany: (Contentious) Intra-Party Politics

Contrary to the Swedish situation, in Germany the movement did successfully set up a wide variety of organizations, ranging from the working groups against data retention and censorship to the Open Knowledge Foundation, which joined existing organizations like the Chaos Computer Club. The Pirate Party, however, was not able to successfully and consistently link up with these organizations due to internal problems, which resulted in a lack of suitable structures to connect to SMOs. Furthermore, because of a strong influx of activists from far-left movements into the new party, the Piratenpartei experienced massive internal conflicts over its programmatic orientation. As a consequence it lost its clear focus on internet issues and accordingly parts of its electoral appeal.

The German Pirates grew quickly after their first electoral success and their membership skyrocketed from less than a thousand members at the beginning of 2009 to more than 12000 in 2010 (Zolleis, Prokopf, & Strauch 2010, p. 20). The rapidly growing membership figures combined with the party's commitment to direct participation of all members in its decision-making processes led to a situation in which the party focused on internal institution and platform building. It did not, however, develop a clear strategy of linking up to the movement

[24]The party was run by the party board in the interim (Piratpartiet 2015).

from which it originated.[25] While the party has created tools for online decision making, German party law is ambiguous about whether virtual party conventions are legal[26] and the Pirates continue to host physical conventions. These are member rather than delegate conferences and thus all members are eligible to participate and vote. With many new members these conventions often proved to be inefficient vehicles for decision making (interview 010102) and the chair at the party's November/December 2013 convention, for instance, had to spend time stopping a member from flying a small drone in the hall and with a motion questioning the decision to ban drones from the hall before the meeting could continue.

The party developed the concept of "topic representatives," inter alia responsible for contact with movement organizations, to provide a link to external actors (interview 010102). However, even party elites conceded to not being completely aware of what these representatives were supposed to achieve: "Then, on the federal level, there is this concept of topic representatives. But if I am completely honest I have never properly understood what that is supposed to entail" (interview 010101). A member of the party's federal leadership summarized the cooperation with movement organizations as follows:

> in my impression it is not an organized, steady communication. But one is of course close and talks to each other. But I also think we have to work on making that a bit more structured maybe. I believe that former federal leaderships have acted a bit lax in not seeking, not maintaining this contact specifically. [So] That in effect we need to engage in a little reconstruction work. (interview 010105)

[25] A member of the party's national leadership indicated that while there was the desire within the the leadership to build more connections to NGOs, it was an open question whether the party would be able to accomplish this considering the number of other "construction sites" for the party (interview 010105).

[26] The Pirates have, for instance, been advised by the office of the privacy protection officer of the State of Berlin that a online voting tool that the party employed could not ensure the legally required anonymity of voters in secret ballots (Holzapfel 2012).

This confusion about the correct point of contact is shared by the movement. A representative of Digitale Gesellschaft (Digital Society), a movement organization focused on the protection of consumers and basic rights with respect to internet issues, indicated that interactions with the Pirates have been limited in scope and stated: "it is somehow a bit diffuse to figure out with whom you can cooperate there [in the Pirate Party] at present" (interview 010207). Moreover, SMOs described some reservations about the Pirate Party's competence when it came to their core issues. With respect to the issue of censorship, a representative of the Working Group against Internet Blocks and Censorship asserted that "Individual persons, who are also active in the Pirates, were indeed with us, but the Pirates were rather invisible and have also missed the issue in general, I have to say" (interview 010204). Similarly, an activist with the Working Group on Data Retention indicated that in his opinion the Pirate Party should have made use of the Working Group's expertise:

> The Pirates should have done this [seeking out the group's expertise], but they did not. It is not a secret that much went wrong internally [in the Pirate Party] in the last one and a half years with respect to internal organization and structures. Also with respect to the impression left externally and at least regarding the [policy] issues we could maybe have provided assistance at one point or another. (interview 010202)

Similar to the Swedish case, the German Pirate Party's limited parliamentary representation (it had parliamentary groups in four state parliaments in 2013/14) set few incentives for the movement to focus its efforts on the party. Describing the issues on which the movement engaged with parties, and discussing concerns regarding free trade agreements and transparency in how they are negotiated in particular, one activist stated: "The Pirates, in my opinion, are completely irrelevant. Simply because they have no influence in the Euro-

pean Parliament, in the EU Commission, in the Council of Ministers" (interview 010203).

Thus, direct contacts with the movement were relatively rare and not overly productive in terms of programmatic alignment, because the Pirates were focused on internal affairs and the movement did not perceive the party as an effective or competent actor in pushing its agenda. This situation is also mirrored in the party's attempts to set up a political foundation that could have served as a focal point for connections to civil society. A former member of the federal leadership argued that the many parallel efforts to create foundations were "an expression of the fragmentation of the party" and driven by actors trying the secure the resources that come with a foundation for themselves (interview 010102).

But beyond its structural problem in achieving a successful working relationship with the movement on the elite level, the German Pirate party was also hampered in its alignment with the digital movement because the young party's success had attracted activists from other social movements, who joined the Piratenpartei to turn it into their party-political vehicle. These were mostly activists from anti-fascist, anti-racist, and generally far-left backgrounds. This caused tension in a party that over time had clearly positioned itself left of the political center in general (Zolleis, Prokopf, & Strauch 2010, p. 31), and in Berlin in particular (Odenbach 2012, p. 94), but contained members with ideological positions ranging from socially-liberal, center-left to far-left. This tension expressed itself in a variety of ways. At their party conferences in late 2013 and early 2014, for instance, a banner of the anti-fascist movement was affixed in the hall and on both occasions this led to contention and demands for the banner to

be taken down (it remained in place in both instances).

This tension and focus on internal conflicts led to a loss of the party's focus on their core issues. One activist in the digital movement described this as follows: "And at the same time one has to say too, that the Pirates have lost sight of the issue of data protection, or of the issue internet policy generally" (interview 010207). This analysis is shared within the party itself. Exactly as the Swedish MEP in relation to Piratpartiet, one of the German Pirates' topic representatives, saw his party's decline of electoral appeal connected to not highlighting the party's core issues and failing to draw on these issues to develop positions in other areas:

> That [the connection between movement and party] has unfortunately split a bit, especially regarding the 2013 election, which also was, I believe, one of the reasons that our intrinsic peer group did not necessarily vote for us anymore. That was a problem, that we did leave our core issues a bit aside, especially topics like copyright law, internet policies, but instead [practiced] broadening [of the platform]. Which is also right and important, i.e. unconditional basic income, asylum policies, family policies, gender policies. But it was unfortunately not derived from our core issues [...], but rather isolated and alone. And it was, I believe, the largest problem, that we weren't able to develop a narrative (interview 010108)

After a disappointing result of 2.2% in the federal election of 2013[27] these tensions led to an open struggle over the direction of the party starting in early 2014 and lasting (at least) until the election of new leadership team in June of the same year. On February 13 2014, Anne Helm, a member of a local parliament in Berlin and the Pirate Party's fifth candidate on their list for the European Elections in May 2014,[28] was photographed topless in Dresden with the mes-

[27] As laid out in chapter 3, German electoral law requires a party to win 5% or electoral districts directly to enter the federal parliament. The Pirate Party fell short of either of these ways.

[28] Considering the number of seats assigned to Germany and the country's electoral law, Anne

sage "Thanks Bomber Harris," as well as the sign of the feminist activist group Femen, painted on the upper part of her body (Heiser 2014). In Dresden, neo-nazi groups have regularly used February 13, the day on which in 1945 Allied aircrafts heavily bombarded the city, to try to recast Germans as the victims in World War II. Thanking Sir Arthur "Bomber" Harris, the head of the British air force bombing command, who advocated aerial bombings as a strategy, sets the radical counterpoint to the extreme-right's reframing efforts.[29] This led to a contentious debate in the party about how far left the parties should be positioned. Different state leadership took different positions in the debate, some supporting Helm, some criticizing her (Heiser 2014). In March, the three members of the federal leadership associated with a more center-left, socially liberal profile resigned from the leadership team (Reinbold 2014). When a new leadership was elected at a special party convention in June no one from the old leadership team, associated with a (far) left position was reelected and the new leadership solidly represented the socially liberal wing of the party (Spiegel Online 2014). This result prompted the founding of the "Progressive Platform," an organization of those on the (far) left formally independent of the party (Beikler & Christmann 2014), many of whom subsequently left the Pirates.[30] This phase was dominated by coverage of a split party and fighting (inter alia) about its ideological position on the left/right dimension, while the party's core, internet issues receded into the background (e.g. Denkler (2014)). The Pirates won 1.4% in the May 2014 European election, barely .2% more than the Animal Protection

Helm's position on the list would have required the Pirates to gain about 5% of the vote, for her to be elected as an MEP.

[29]Helm wore a head scarf during the protest, but later confirmed that she was the person in the pictures (Beier 2014).

[30]Several prominent former members of the party, including Anne Helm, announced in early 2016 that they would from now on support The Left, Germany's most left-wing party represented in the national parliament (Delius 2016, taz 2016). Helm was elected to the state parliament of Berlin for The Left in September of 2016 (Spiegel Online 2016).

Party, and in 2017 lost their representation in all four state parliaments they had entered earlier in the decade.

In sum, both the Swedish and German Pirate parties managed to carve out an electoral niche based on their issue profile during their breakout elections. However, they struggled to keep their issues salient and to remain seen as competent electoral owners of these issues (cf. Meguid (2008) on the importance of salience and issue ownership for niche parties). In both countries the parties embarked on processes to broaden their platforms, partially driven by external pressure to develop positions on policy issues beyond the parties' core issues.[31] But instead of linking the new positions clearly back to the issue core of Pirate parties, the parties diluted their appeals by highlighting seemingly unconnected issues like, e.g. LGBT rights in Sweden or asylum policies in Germany. In Germany in particular this created a profile that made the party harder to distinguish from the other three parties of the left. Thus, the Pirates did not give voters a clear reason to vote for them instead of other, more established parties, which were also often more likely to represent these broader (new) left concerns in a government role. In neither country could the parties rely on the movement to connect them back to their issue core, because only limited links existed between the two actors. In Sweden, the Pirates' position was furthermore complicated after 2010 by the absence of a mobilized movement raising the digital agenda and thus the party was left to defend its electoral issue-space on its own.

[31] One member of a state party leadership in Germany, for instance, indicated that media description of the Pirates a "one-issue party" drove the desire to formulate policies on other issues (interview 010104).

Conclusion

This chapter has identified four mechanisms by which movement platform parties remain aligned with the policies and frames of the movements that gave rise to them, even in the absence of organizational connections. Movements keep voters informed, especially during electoral campaigns, about parties' performance on the movement's core issues and thus set strong incentives for movement platform parties to (continue to) focus on these issues. Another source of programmatic alignment is a grassroots linkage in which movement activists who are also party members bring ideas and policies into the platform writing processes of these parties. Finally, party elites play a large role in aligning their parties with the movement by seeking movement organizations' advice, independently working to remain close to movement positions, and interacting with movement elites through think tanks and political foundations. Through these mechanisms movement platform parties gain an ally in keeping their core issue salient and increase the likelihood of remaining the legitimate owner of their issue in voters', and particular, in their core electorates' minds. The movement profits from a party that pushes for its policies in the electoral and legislative arena. Moreover, since all mechanisms allow SMOs to act in genuinely nonpartisan ways, they do not damage the organizations' ability to influence other political parties or to attract supporters from across the political spectrum.

Figure 6.2 illuminates the relative frequency with which relevant interviewees highlighted the mechanism in question, separated by party and movement actors.[32] Since the grassroots linkage and independent elite orientation are al-

[32]Percentages of interviews provide a sense of how many interview partners highlighted the mechanism and do not represent observations that are representative of an underlying population.

most exclusively observable to party actors, only percentages for party actors are provided for those mechanisms. Moreover, because SMOs' reports about the performance of parties represent the central basis for informing voters during electoral campaigns, they stand in as a proxy for electoral pressure more generally here. Note that the two Pirate parties, as discussed above, did not establish foundations and the prominence of the respective linkage on the party side would jump from about 15% to about 35% percent, if only interviewees from parties with existing foundations were considered.

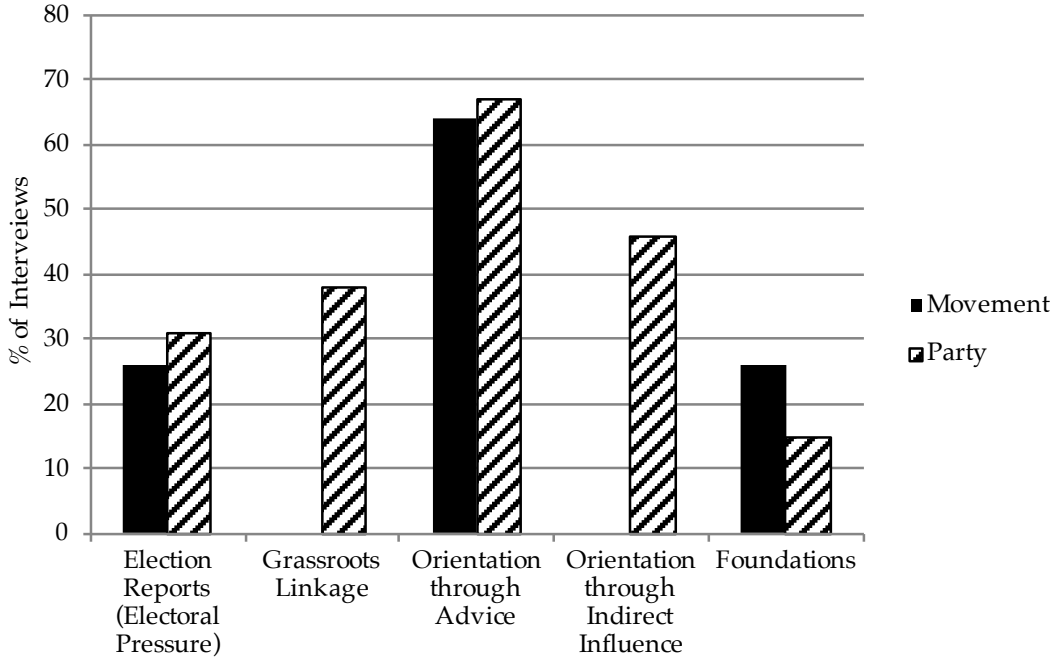


Figure 6.2: Mechanisms as Highlighted by % of Interviewees

Taking this data and the descriptions of these activities by movement organization and party leaders into account, table 6.2 presents an overview of the relative prominence of the four mechanisms. The findings suggest that the importance of the mechanisms varies by the age of the movement platform party. The grassroots linkage is more common among younger movement platform par-

ties. These parties, (the Pirate parties, as well as early Green parties (Kitschelt & Hellemans 1990)) are likely to have a larger subset of party members who are also active in movement contexts than their more institutionalized counterparts. By contrast, they are less likely to have established think tanks or foundations that organize significant exchanges with movement elites. While think tanks and foundations play a larger role for the established Green parties and are present with medium frequency, they were consistently assigned a less central role than direct elite contacts in the interviews conducted for this project. The direct (and indirect) elite orientation efforts are highly common independent of party age. Finally, electoral pressure plays a similarly consistent role across the developmental stages of party development, but is inherently limited to the months before an election.

Table 6.2: Frequency of Programmatic Alignment Mechanisms

Mechanism	**Green Parties**	**Pirate Parties**
Electoral Pressure	medium	medium
Grassroots Linkage	increasingly rare	medium
Orientation	common	common
Foundations	medium	rare

Identifying the mechanisms underlined that neither the movements nor the movement platform parties are unitary actors. Thus, these mechanism do not connect parties and movements, but rather actors within them. Thus, for instance, groups with preferences close to the movement might reference movement advice to strengthen their position in intra-party conflicts. Movements, too, are composed of activists and organizations with different agendas and preferences regarding strategies. Some of the SMOs work directly with gov-

ernmental and party actors, while other remain more focused on contentious, outsider strategies. While the former are during some phases hard to distinguish from more conventional interest groups,[33] the movement writ-large will still have the opportunity to draw on more contentious tactics.[34]

The case study of the two Pirate parties highlighted that parties with roots in contemporary movements face a dilemma with respect to their issue profile for which no obvious solution exists.[35] They achieved their breakthrough by articulating a new set of issues as a niche party (cf. Meguid (2005) on niche parties and Hug (2001) on new parties). After this breakthrough they were faced with two options. On the one hand, if they were to stick to their issue profile they could be destined to remain a minor party and their electoral niche is potentially so small that it would not allow for long-term survival. This inability to maintain the electoral space necessary for survival becomes more likely when parties do not successfully connect to movements, because, as this chapter has highlighted and the literature on niche parties and issue ownership has so far overlooked, social movements are central actors in raising the salience of issues and assigning issue ownership. If, on the other hand, the party would try to broaden its programmatic profile, it would risk losing core voters and diminishing the salience of its central issues in electoral competition. This was a viable way to electoral success (though not the preservation of original frames and goals (Przeworski & Sprague 1986, pp. 50-52)) for the Social Democrats, but in today's party systems this strategy is less achievable due a significant number

[33]This is also partially the result of interest groups moving to "movement behavior," as social movements moved into "the realm of conventional politics" (Meyer & Tarrow 1998*a*, p. 4) and thus tactical repertoires that were considered particularly contentious and limited to movement actors became increasingly acceptable for interest groups.

[34]Movement organizations in general, and those in the four movement studied here in particular, are also likely to have fewer financial resources than many interest groups.

[35]Contributing to a situation in which European party systems have, at least at their cores, remained frozen (Lipset & Rokkan 1967).

of mainstream parties already covering broad issue profiles.

In sum, movement platform parties have developed a number of mechanisms that keep them programmatically aligned with the movements from which they originate. These mechanisms allow the parties to continue to attract their core electorate and ensure electoral success. In the absence of these mechanisms, as the case of the Pirate Parties demonstrates, movement platform parties struggle to retain their programmatic focus and electoral appeal.

Up to this point the project has considered the reasons for movement platform parties' organizational separation from, but continued programmatic alignment with movements. This chapter has illuminated the mechanisms driving the latter in this chapter. The following and final chapter will discuss the implications of this project, as well as the open questions that remain.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

This dissertation began with a look at the diverging evolution of two Swedish parties with movement roots. As the previous chapters have demonstrated, differences in incentive structures in distinct historical environments explain why movement parties in the pre- and post-World War II eras in general, and the Swedish Social Democrats and Greens in particular, have pursued those different paths. Social Democratic leaders loosened their programmatic (and later organizational) connections to the labor movement in order to appeal to a broader, multi-class voter base. They were able to accomplish this because in the absence of (other) catch-all parties during the first half of the 20th century, electoral space remained to be captured. Green Party elites, however, had to grapple with an environment in which limited electoral space narrowed their popular appeal and empowered the environmental movement, which could realize its preferred outcome of loosening organizational ties but retaining a programmatic ally in parliament.

Both the Swedish Social Democrats and the Swedish Greens have struggled since taking over government responsibility. Since 2014 they have had to cope with, among other developments, a refugee crisis that led the government to close the borders for asylum seekers, violence from the extreme right against shelters for asylum seekers, and a terrorist attack. Support for the Social Democrats in the polls has dropped from their 2014 electoral result of 31.1% into the mid- to high-20s, though following IPSO polls the Social Democrats never lost their status as the strongest party in Sweden (Ahlin 2017).[1] That is,

[1]Other pollsters have occasionally shown either the center-right Moderaterna or the radical right Sverigedemokraterna challenging the SAP for that status; see e.g. Gylling (2016).

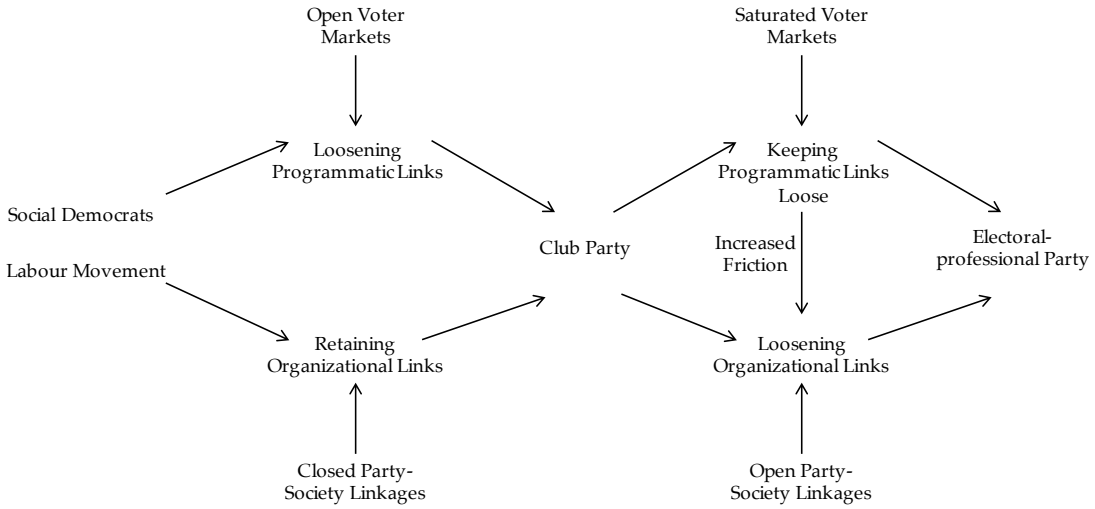
they retain their broad appeal beyond the sympathizers of one particular social movement. For the Swedish Greens government participation has come with an existential crisis. In an interview a member of Miljöpartiet's national leadership anticipated that a government role might strain relationships with civil society organizations (interview 020302), and government participation has led to a sharp drop in the party's popularity, leaving it below the 4% hurdle required for representation in the Swedish parliament in many polls (Duxbury 2017). The Green Party, as the results of this project would lead us to expect, has reacted by turning to its core issue of environmental protection and actively highlighted significant increases in the government's environmental budget (Miljöpartiet de Gröna 2016). Leading members also indicated a renewed focus on the environment and climate change before the next elections are held in 2018 (Duxbury 2017). Moreover, after the resignation of one of the party's co-leaders, the Greens elected a well-known environmental writer who had only become active in the party in 2009 to run for the European Parliament as her replacement. Whether this attempt to return to green issues can stabilize the party's trajectory before the 2018 national elections, after other issues like the refugee crisis dominated the agenda, remains to be seen. As this project has shown, however, the party is left with few alternative options.

In the following section I will provide a more detailed summary of the dissertation's findings before focusing on their theoretical and normative implications in a second section. A third and final section concludes by discussing limitations of the project and pointing out avenues for future research.

Summary of Findings

The previous chapters have demonstrated that transitioning to a movement platform party model is the logical choice for contemporary movement parties. These parties, including Green, Pirate, and many radical right and regionalist parties, were tightly connected to a social movement at their inception through organizational as well programmatic links. Over the first decades of their existence the organizational links withered away, but to this day the parties retain a strong programmatic connection to the movement in which they originated. This development stands in stark contrast to the evolution of Social and Christian Democratic parties from their movement roots to catch-all parties without organizational or programmatic connections to social movements. Figure 7.1 below summarizes the relationship of Social Democrats and the labour movement over time, as well as the factors that led to change in that relationship.

Figure 7.1: Party-Movement Linkages: Social Democrats and the Labour Movement

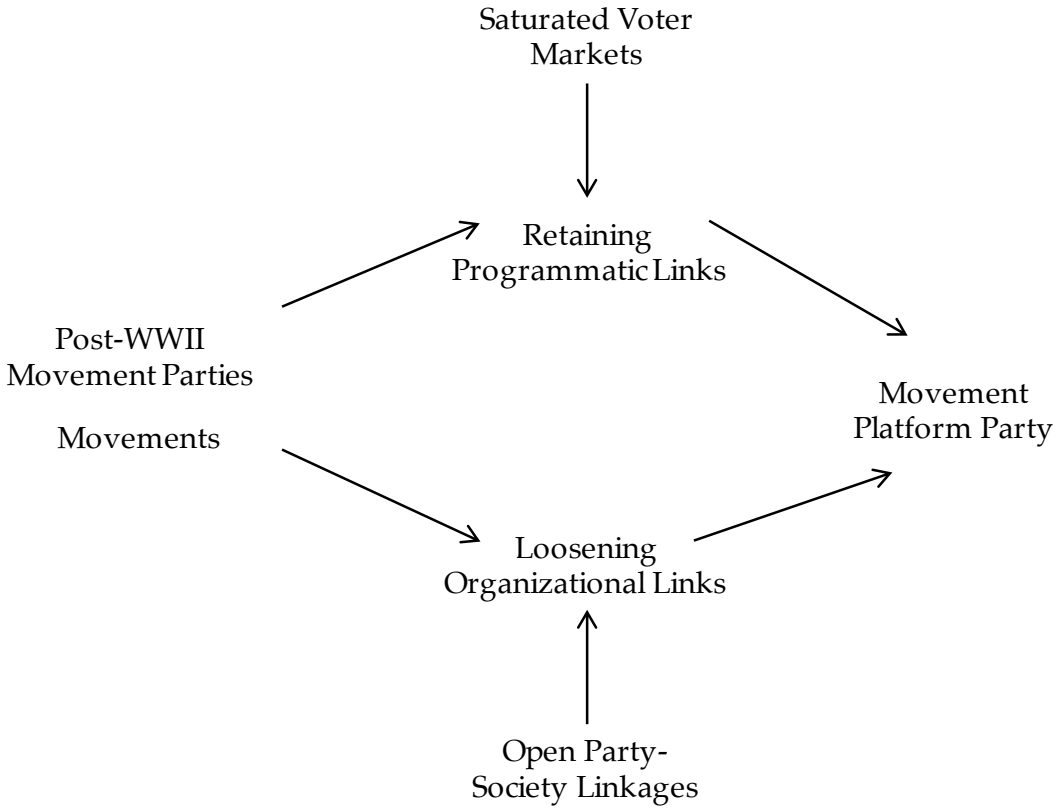


Social Democrats and the labour movement started with strong programmatic and organizational links to each other, i.e. as ideal-typical movement parties. These parties and movements encountered a political environment in which enfranchisement created open voter markets leaving many voters up for grabs. This led Social Democrats, in the first phase of their evolution, to broaden their platforms and to delink programmatically from the labour movement in order to appeal to those voters. Trade unions, however, could find few other party-political allies beyond Social Democrats and thus had no incentives to loosen their organizational links, despite the parties' programmatic drift. As a result Social Democrats adopted a club party model (cf. figure 2.1 in chapter 2) with strong organizational, but weak programmatic links to the labour movement.

The political environment changed significantly in the latter half of the 20th century leading to the second phase in Social Democratic parties' evolution. The transformation of most parties towards catch-all strategies opened the possibility for cooperation across the party-political spectrum and saturated voter markets. The former development allowed unions to engage with parties beyond Social Democrats and thus organizational links were increasingly loosened. This loosening was likely also helped along by the friction the lack of a strong programmatic connection between parties and movements caused. The saturated voter markets moreover created incentives for Social Democrats to keep their programmatic linkages to the labour movement loose, as a tightening would have left many of their voters to be scooped up by other catch-all parties. The outcome of this process was the creation of the electoral-professional model that became the new "standard" for political parties across Europe.

The development of Social Democrats has been well-established in the literature and has set the expectations for movement party evolution more generally. As this project has demonstrated, however, Social Democrats' evolution was highly contingent on the historical context into which they were born. Figure 7.2 highlights this contingency by summarizing the experience of newer movement parties.

Figure 7.2: Party-Movement Linkages: Post-WWII Movement Parties and Movements



Post-WWII movement parties were founded during the time at which Social Democrats went through the second phase of their evolution. That is, instead of the open voter markets, but closed party-society relationships that Social Democrats encountered when they were founded, these newer movement

parties were confronted with the opposite scenario: closed voter markets and open party-society linkages. The fact that the catch-all parties, which saturated the electoral markets, were willing to engage with a wide variety of civil society actors set strong incentives for social movements to regain and retain their organizational independence. As demonstrated in chapter 4, that independence helps SMOs to maximize their support from citizens with different party-political preferences, as well as their influence on governments of different party-political compositions. A deep skepticism about political parties as a means of achieving policy change and an over-time separation of the elite sphere due to organizational pressures are additional reasons for the organizational separation of movements and parties.

In the saturated voter markets in which electoral space was limited to new dimensions, and, in times of crisis the new movement parties had few resources to change SMOs' minds. Instead, as shown in chapter 5, they concentrate on retaining core electorates that strongly value programmatic linkages on the parties' core issue. That is, they adopted the movement platform model, in which these parties continue to provide clear programmatic linkages on their core issue to retain their voter base even after organizational separation from the movements. They (have to) do this by highlighting the relevant issues both in the way they communicate with voters in elections and in the policies they deliver when in government.

Movements that spawned parties after the Second World War have been significantly empowered by their political environment when compared with their trade union predecessors. Not only are they the driving force for organizational separation, but they also play the central role in keeping movement platform

parties programmatically aligned with the movement, as chapter 6 has demonstrated. Social movement organizations have developed strategies to observe any divergence of parties from the movements' programmatic demands and publicize them, especially among movement platform parties' core supporters, with potentially devastating electoral consequences for those parties. In particular, SMOs use electoral campaigns to highlight their policy proposals and exert pressure on movement platform parties. But even beyond campaign season, SMOs can rely on a shared activist base with parties, party elites' own efforts not to diverge from the movement programmatically, and connections through party-sponsored foundations and think-tanks to place their policies in the platforms of parties with movement roots. In these ways social movements severely limit parties' room for maneuver and turn them into movement platform parties.

In sum, many assumptions about the development of movement parties are grounded in the historically contingent experience of Social Democrats that empowered these parties vis-à-vis the labour movement and allowed them to become mainstream, electoral-professional parties. Newer movement parties, born into a different political environment after WWII, found themselves confronted with saturated markets and empowered social movement organizations which forced those parties' transition into the movement platform party model.

Implications: "Bringing Civil Society Back In"

The findings summarized above have a number of implications for how we study and conceptualize political parties, questions of political participation

and representation, and social movements. I will turn to each of these areas of inquiry in a distinct subsection below.

Political Parties

One of the central take-aways from this project is that we often cannot understand the development of institutionalized politics without considering extra-institutional politics and civil society actors. That is, we should "bring civil society back in" (cf. Evans, Rueschemeyer, & Skocpol (1985)) when studying institutionalized politics in general and political parties in particular. As demonstrated above, because the current literature on political parties underestimates the power of social movement organizations and parties' roots in civil society, it fails to grasp the stability of the movement platform party model.

This project has identified further and more specific ways in which social movements shape political parties. While existing scholarship has illuminated how political parties and their interactions among each other assign and change the perceptions of issue ownership (Walgrave, Lefevere, & Nuytemans 2009, Meguid 2008), civil society actors have so far been overlooked. The mechanisms of programmatic influence highlighted in chapter 6 show that SMOs are central actors in assigning issue ownership to political parties. Future research should further illuminate the roles NGOs and movement mobilization play in changing citizens' perceptions of issue ownership. Considering that movements and NGOs enjoy much higher levels of trust in many countries than political parties (cf. also chapter 4), a reasonable initial expectation would be that their influence is stronger than that of political parties.

Connected to the importance of cues provided by SMOs to the electorate, work on niche parties should begin to systematically distinguish between those niche parties that exist in mobilized movement environments and those that have no noteworthy representatives of their niche issue in civil society. The former type of niche party should be expected to have a much smaller room for maneuver in terms of broadening their programmatic appeals than the latter, because SMOs can credibly threaten their issue-ownership if they do not remain focused on their core issue. Among other things, this implies that even in the face of disappointing electoral results, niche parties surrounded by a social movement should not be expected to transform into a different party model (cf. Meyer & Wagner (2013)).

Similar to findings about niche parties (Adams et al. 2006), this study also demonstrated that movement platform parties do not have the mobility Downsian median voter models assume and that they cannot abandon their specific programmatic electoral space without potentially high electoral costs. Accordingly the office- or vote-seeking strategies assumed by many models in the Downsian tradition are not appropriate for analyzing these parties, which will increase their electoral success through policy-seeking behavior. Short of being able to make their issue the central issue of electoral competition and supplanting the economic left/right dimension, this also implies that there is a relatively low electoral ceiling for movement platform parties. These parties' best chances of increasing the importance of their core issues might again lie with a successful social movement transforming societal perceptions of the central political challenges.

This project also has further clarified the dilemma inherent in the movement

party model and why it has been so far, independent of historical circumstances, a highly unstable party model (cf. Kitschelt (2006*b*, p. 288)). While the results presented above demonstrate that, contrary to assumptions in the literature, leaving the movement party model does not automatically imply a transformation towards an electoral-professional model, even in the saturated European party systems of the second of half the 20th century, retaining the movement party model was not a viable strategy. Notably the organizational links have consistently been the dimension on which the connection could not be kept. Movement parties with origins before the Second World War faced incentives to broaden programmatically that made the organizational link to the movement not retainable in the long-term. For contemporary movement parties the organizational links with the movements became unsustainable in the short-term, because social movement organizations have a strong interest in party-political neutrality. For the foreseeable future it is hard to imagine that civil society could give rise to a social movement whose policy demands are only accepted by one political party.[2] As the experience of the digital movement shows, even movements that represent what many at first glance took to be exotic demands and at the same time have the potential to upend political competition by introducing a new "knowledge-based cleavage" (Demker 2014, p. 203), found access to (mainstream) political parties beyond the Pirate parties they had spawned over the course of just a few years (e.g. interview 010201).[3] Moreover, some of the anti-austerity parties in the European South, like Syriza, might be tempted to follow the example of older Social Democratic parties and leave the movement

[2]Even in the European countries in which partisan competition centers around only two parties, i.e. France and the United Kingdom, movements have usually been able to engage both main parties. The situation in the United States, where some SMOs endorse candidates, and polarization closes access to one or the other political party, however, seems to be different and warrants further research.

[3]In countries in which a cordon sanitaire against radical right movements still holds, these movements might be the exception.

behind. In the aftermath of the European debt crisis, which weakened the traditional center-left and created an unusually volatile electorate, these parties have the ability to compete on economic issues, which allows them a path to the mainstream, electoral-professional party model (see below for a more detailed discussion of the recent developments regarding party-movement relationships in Southern Europe).

While there are few reasons to assume that movement-spawned parties will find a way to maintain the original movement party model, some electoral-professional parties have recently made efforts to move back into the direction of the movement party ideal type by strengthening and reestablishing links with civil society. Most notably, the British Labour party under the leadership of Jeremey Corbyn has sought a close relationship to trade unions in general and Unite, the largest union in the U.K., in particular (Grice 2017). Moreover, Corbyn's leadership is also strongly supported in intra-party conflicts by Momentum, a grass-roots organization set up in the wake of his leadership campaign that aims to officially affiliate with the Labour Party in the future (Cowburn 2017). These links with organized civil society serve to strengthen one wing of the party in internal conflicts and to re-energize the "party-in-the-electorate" (Key 1964) with organizational resources and programmatic precision.

In an effort to engage voters more broadly, other electoral-professional parties have created the preconditions for significant influence from civil society, including social movements, on their programmatic stances by granting possibilities of participation to non-party members (Scarrow 2015). The Italian center-left Democratic Party, for instance, opened its candidate selection for the prime

ministership to non-party members (Corbetta & Vignati 2013). While this decision is different from directly establishing ties with civil society organizations, it potentially allows SMOs (and interest groups) to mobilize their supporters in favor of one or the other candidate in intra-party elections. The circumstances under which mainstream parties turn to reestablishing these links with organized and unorganized cvil society and their effects deserve further scrutiny.

In terms of methodological implications, this study has highlighted that for correct inferences it is important to interrogate the motivation of party (and movement) elites directly. A current strain of the literature based on the analysis of party manifesto data, expert surveys, and party documents concludes that internally more democratic parties will have narrower and more party supporter-focused than median voter-focused platforms (Lehrer 2012, van Heck forthcoming). That is, parties with movement roots and more activist participation are expected to have more movement-aligned platforms. These studies explicitly build on the assumption that party elites pursue vote- and office-seeking strategies (e.g. van Heck (forthcoming, p. 1)). The results presented in chapter 6, however, demonstrate that some of the programmatic alignment between movement platform parties and movements is the result of party elites' independent efforts. This calls into question the assumptions of the previously summarized studies for movement platform parties and suggests that party elites play an important role in ensuring their parties' alignment with supporters' views. However, without elite interviews (or other means of understanding elite behavior, like a party leader survey) and a careful tracing of the connection between movements and elections following McAdam and Tarrow's call (McAdam & Tarrow 2010), the narrow definition of the office-seeking assumption would have gone unchallenged.

Political Participation and Representation

With respect to political participation and behavior, this project has demonstrated that it is critical to recognize the existence of different types of voters, rather than simply formulate theories based on aggregate or median tendencies. Voters content with the types of vague and broad issue linkages of catch-all parties co-exist with those interested in more specific linkages on narrower issues, like the environment or societal changes in response to information and communication technology. Whether movement platform parties' appeal is exclusively due to competing on different issues (or issue dimensions) than mainstream parties or whether the movement-enforced precision of their policy positions, and thus the breaking with the vagueness of the catch-all model, is appealing in and of itself is worth further investigation.

The findings of this project also contribute to our understanding of contemporary shifts in patterns of participation. Even in times of decreasing party membership and direct engagement with political parties, movement platform parties remain strongly tied to civil society and citizens retain enormous influence through their increased level of issue-focused activism (cf., Dalton (2008)). This development, moreover has strong normative implications for the nature of representation in advanced industrial democracies. Movement platform parties, together with the movement that spawned them, but without cooperating directly, manage to (re)integrate politically active citizens in contemporary democracies and give them a "party-political home." Accordingly, politically engaged citizens have a variety of mutually reinforcing options for participating at their disposal, which can to some degree counteract the development of mainstream parties towards catch-all or cartel party models. Movements and

movement platform parties together are a strong force for policy change and since they increasingly exist as separate organizational spheres with distinct circles of potential supporters and donors there is little conflict over resources, making this a mutually beneficial arrangement (see Ramiro & Morales (2014) for further evidence that movements and parties do not compete for the same pool of potential activists).

This efficacy for policy change and opening of possibilities for participation is, however, limited to the issue concerns around which movements have mobilized. Basic economic concerns about increasing inequality have, until the anti-austerity movements of the early 2010s, played only a peripheral role in these movements and the parties they spawned. This development will reinforce the already significant gap in political activism between different societal groups and increasingly exclude citizens who do not belong to the elite or do not have a social movement to act on their behalf. Thus, with movement platform parties not focused on economic issues and Social Democrats facing strong incentives to be programmatically vague and to act as insider parties, representing those in secure jobs, rather than those in insecure employment or outside the job market (Rueda 2005), the economically most vulnerable citizens are left behind. To what extent small parties left of Social Democracy and the new anti-austerity parties in the European South can counteract this development is an open question.

Social Movements

Mirroring the conclusions with respect to political parties, this study has also shown that investigating social movements' connections to institutionalized politics is a fruitful endeavor. Sociology, more than political science and in particular over the last decade, has developed a research program on these questions (Amenta et al. 2010), but political parties have played only a small role in that program.[4] This project sheds additional light on movement strategies. The mechanisms identified in chapter 3 constitute a successful approach by which movements can interact with party political actors without trading their access for policy compromises, avoiding "co-optation" (Gamson 1990). Thus, beyond movements' influence on party politics, the findings in this project with respect to SMOs shaping party platforms also enhance our knowledge about the circumstances under which movements are influential (cf. Burstein & Linton (2002)) by illuminating one of the avenues through which SMOs can achieve policy success, especially when a movement platform party is in government.

In this project the focus was on the impact of social movements on political parties and I demonstrated that a mix of tactics with different levels of contention, ranging from protest to lobbying, was effective at influencing the policy demands of movement platform parties. But it seems likely that engaging in this tactical mix, as well as with political parties, also changed social movement organizations. While, as mentioned above, they have not been co-opted, the role contacts with political parties play in incentivizing different forms of institutionalization and tactical behavior, and potentially a separation of labor between different SMOs, deserves further attention. Moreover, the potential in-

[4]Notable exceptions are McAdam & Tarrow (2013) and McAdam & Kloos (2014).

teractive influences between parties and movements in terms of ideology and policy demands promise to be an important avenue for future research. As chapter 3 highlighted, the Swedish environmental movement and Green party, for example, have co-evolved to see economic growth as compatible with environmental protection. Is this the result of external factors pushing both actors in the same direction or do their interactions play a role in that ideological evolution?

This project has also mainly centered on social movement organizations and elites rather than grassroots activists. Yet, especially in increasingly contentious times, the political participation of citizens and how and when they switch between or combine activism in the institutional and extra-institutional arenas are extremely important. This dissertation has provided additional knowledge about the institutional environment these activists will encounter, but research on the micro-level, like the project currently conducted under the direction of Bert Klandermans (2016) aiming to compare citizen engagement in movement and party politics on the activist level, will provide important insights.

In terms of movement tactics, existing research has investigated the relationship between protest and the success of programmatically aligned parties. With respect to the (radical) right, studies have shown an inverse relationship in which more protest is associated with less electoral success (Hutter 2014, Minkenberg 2003, Koopmans 1996), while on the left the relationship is reinforcing (Hutter 2014). The results of this study highlight that movement activity that affects party success is not limited to protest. Moreover, these activities are not only geared to affect the success of programmatically-aligned parties, but also to keep those parties aligned in terms of policy. Accordingly fu-

ture work should investigate the entire tactical repertoire of social movements (cf. Taylor & Van Dyke (2007)) in terms of influencing parties, as well as protests' effects on setting the programmatic agenda of (movement platform) parties.

Limitations of Findings and Open Questions

After discussing the implications of the dissertation's findings, this final section will highlight the limitations of these findings, as well as the questions that could not be addressed with the collected data and the questions that have arisen based on the results presented here. I will first discuss the two movement platform families not analyzed with detailed case studies (regionalists and the radical right), before turning to the recent anti-austerity movements in Southern Europe, and party-movement interactions beyond the European context. A final subsection will highlight open questions not tied to specific parties, movements, or geographical contexts.

Regionalist and Radical Right Parties and Movements

This project studied four parties that co-existed with organizationally separated movements mobilizing on the same core issue. That is, these parties closely comply to the movement platform party ideal type. As highlighted in chapter 3, regionalist parties display more variation regarding their organizational relationship to independence movements, with some parties having consistent informal relationships with the movements around them and other regionalist parties, beyond the scope of this study, having no movement to speak of with

which to interact. This raises questions about small parties with and without mobilized movement environments. Are regionalist parties with movements around them more likely to survive and electorally thrive because SMOs help them to keep their issues on the agenda and connect with core voters? Or does the increased programmatic flexibility that comes with an absence of movement pressure make up for the absence of programmatic allies in civil society?

The radical right provides additional instructive examples of the complexity of organizational connections between movements and parties. As described in chapter 3, across-country variation in whether nationalist subcultures provide organizational support for these parties exists (cf. Art (2011)). Additionally, strong disruptive anti-immigrant movements and protests have occurred, in particular during and after the recent refugee crisis in Europe. Some of these movements have docked onto and/or invigorated radical right parties. The PEGIDA movement in Germany, for instance, has built ties to the Alternative for Germany party (Wieland 2016). Thus, on the radical right we observe a similar variance in the existence of organizational ties to movements as in regionalist parties. These ties are, however, additionally complicated by the often highly contentious demands as well as tactics, including violence, that radical right activists employ (regarding the recent waves of attacks on asylum seekers in Germany, see e.g. Jäckle & König (2017)). This sets high incentives to demonstrate organizational separation for movement-spawned parties in order to realize positive radical flank effects. Whether these parties, however, informally continue to build ties to radical activists and their organizations is accordingly harder to observe and a research program, akin to the detailed sociological studies of the roles different actors play in U.S. racist movements (e.g. Blee (2002)), would help our understanding of these dynamics.

In sum, the empirically existing variation in organizational ties between movements and the parties they spawned, in particular on the radical right, deserve further attention.

Anti-Austerity and Anti-Establishment Movement Parties in Southern Europe: the Dimensionality of Movement Party Competition

This project has focused on those programmatic parties that arose from movements until 2010. Recently, in the aftermath of the sovereign debt crisis in Europe, social movements have given rise to new parties, like Podemos in Spain, and reinvigorated others, like Syriza in Greece (Tsakatika & Eleftheriou 2013), that compete for a mainstream party position. Note that this is not an exclusively Southern European phenomenon, as the Icelandic Pirate Party has bucked the trend of the declining fortunes that affected the other parties in that party family. Despite performing below some early expectations (Dickie 2016), the Icelandic Pirates established themselves as the third party in the country with 14.5% of the vote in the 2016 national elections (Henley 2016). Some of these parties, like Podemos (cf. Gómez-Reino & Llamazares (2015) and chapter 2), have already loosened their organizational connections to movements and thus adopted a movement platform party model. Future research should illuminate how specifically these parties in countries particularly affected by the European debt crisis have drawn on the resulting electoral volatility (Hernández & Kriesi 2016) and broken through the electoral limits of the movement platform party model, allowing them a path to mainstream party status. Early re-

search has highlighted the importance of shared frames between parties and movements as well as organizational innovation stemming from the movements (della Porta et al. 2017).

The parties in Southern Europe, moreover, have achieved their success by engaging voters on the economic left/right dimension, which raises implications and questions regarding how the dimensionality of political competition interacts with openings for movement-spawned parties. First, the crisis increased electoral volatility and made (former) mainstream party voters available to other parties. The inability of older movement platform parties, like the Greens, to accomplish an electoral breakthrough in that situation suggests that, even in times of high electoral volatility, movement platform parties remain locked into their issue niche (due to SMO pressure).

Second, and relatedly, what are the implications of being locked into an issue dimension by social movements for mobility on other dimensions of competition? Can regionalist movement platform parties, for instance, change their position on the economic left/right dimension without punishment by their electorate? The Scottish National Party's evolution from a liberal-centrist to a center-left position on economic matters (Lynch 2006), which provided the preconditions for their electoral breakthrough and their ability to replace Labour as the central party in Scotland, provides some initial evidence for flexibility on secondary dimensions for these parties. But more research about whether SMOs and movement platform parties' core electorates develop priorities on non-primary dimensions and whether this differs across party families is required. That is, what are the opportunities for issue bundling that could allow movement platform parties to attract new voters without alienating their core

electorate?

Third, what is the role of social movements in reinvigorating the importance of old issue dimension, like economic inequality, or in establishing new dimensions of political competition? Making new issues relevant in the "frozen" party systems of Western Europe (Lipset & Rokkan 1967) is a daunting task and it seems implausible that, for instance, small Green parties on their own achieved this feat. Thus, it seems plausible that movements, drawing on protest and activism, are important first-movers in establishing new political cleavages and changing the nature of partisan competition. How these movements affect voter priorities and party positions, however, remains under-explored. Research in this vein could help to answer questions like which strategies and organizational forms successfully place new issue dimensions in the political space and what the role of societal counter-mobilization is in filling both poles of a new dimension (as occurred when the radical right mobilized after the New Social Movements had spawned Green parties). Regarding the movements studied in this project, work on the part civil society activism plays in establishing new issue dimensions would contribute to explaining why the Pirates and digital movements, despite the potential for new cleavages centering on their core concerns (Demker 2014), have fallen short in establishing that dimension in their respective societies and party systems.

Fourth, the anti-austerity movements bring the often more loosely connected and less institutionalized organizational forms, usually associated with New Social Movements and issues of the New Left, to activism focused on the economy and economic inequality. How this departure from the institutionalized, union-based activism of the Old Left shapes the parties spawned by these movements

and their development is an important and open question. Now that these parties compete on economic issues where many (moderate) voters are potentially available, are they bound to repeat the Social Democrats' evolution to catch-all parties? Or are contemporary and differently organized SMOs more powerful and better equipped than their union predecessors when it comes to holding former movement parties programmatically accountable? Moreover, what are the implications of the new forms of movement activity for the party models that movement-spawned parties can adopt? Which forms of organizational connections between movements and parties are possible considering looser and new electronic forms of organization on the movement side?

Party-Movement Interactions Beyond the European Context

Parties with movement roots have not only played a central part in the political history of Europe in the 20th century and more recently after the European debt crisis, but shaped the fortunes of many other continents and countries. This includes the developments of the Arab Spring and, for instance, the Muslim Brotherhood's (short-lived) rise to power in its aftermath (Milton-Edwards 2016), (left-wing) ethnic movements' rise in Latin American countries and sweeping to power in Bolivia (Madrid 2012), and the role of the Tea Party movement in shaping U.S. party politics (Williamson, Skocpol, & Coggin 2011).

Comparing the results of this project with insights about party-movement interactions in other regions highlights several implications and initial hypotheses for future research. In Latin America a number of movement-spawned parties seem to have followed the evolutionary trajectory of European Social

Democrats. Since its inception in 1980, the Brazilian Workers' Party, for instance, has first adopted a catch-all strategy that led it to success in four consecutive presidential elections, and later also loosened organizational connections to the union movement (Hunter 2010, Keck 1992). Similarly, Madrid (2012) has shown that successful parties from the more recent wave of ethnic movement parties achieved their electoral success by drawing on inclusive, catch-all appeals that bridged ethnic identities.

But the continent also retains parties whose movement origins more powerfully shape their present, and here clear differences with the European movement platform parties emerge. Research on the Bolivian MAS shows that the party, which originated in the indigenous and peasant union movements of the country, continues to draw on the movements for candidate selection and builds intensively integrated coalitions with its partners in civil society (Anria & Cyr forthcoming, Anria 2016). This stands in clear contrast to the organizational separation, in particular of elite spheres, between European movements and movement platform parties. Moreover, the three models that order party-movement relationships on the Latin American Left (Roberts 1998), discussed in chapter 2, do not travel to the contemporary European context. European movement platform parties neither dominate the movements nor organically blur their distinction with them. While they, as in Roberts' electoralist model, respect movement autonomy, contrary to that model movement platform parties' lack of organizational connections to the movement is not "in part because their political project is less contingent on the support of collective actors" (Roberts 1998, p. 75). On the contrary, it is the result of powerful SMO preferences for that separation, as these parties remain highly dependent on core voters and SMO behavior for their electoral success.

The European developments also strongly contrast with party-movement relationships in the United States. In that context, Schlozman (2015) has discovered that New Social Movements were not able to anchor political parties for significant time periods, either because they eschewed alliances with parties in the first place, like the environmental movement, or because they failed to bring about more fundamental change, like the anti-(Vietnam) war movement (Schlozman 2015, pp. 39, 11). In contrast, the results presented above show that in Europe the same NSMs were successful in locking the parties they spawned into policy platforms over several decades. Moreover, U.S. parties tend to be focal points in loose organizational networks of ideologically-aligned organizations (Koger, Masket, & Noel 2009) in a way that movement platform parties, due to their organizational separation from civil society actors, are not.

Taken together these differences with U.S. and Latin American movement party developments point to a fruitful research agenda that investigates how environmental and institutional factors determine the nature of party-movement relationships and their organizational connections. Looking only at the U.S., an obvious initial hypothesis is to suggest that First-Past-The-Post electoral rules and the related two-party system lead movements to work through (mainstream) parties and result in lower barriers regarding organizational connections than proportional representation and multi-party systems in Europe. Yet, at least for presidential elections and half of the lower chamber, Bolivia also employs a majoritarian electoral system, but has a prominent movement-spawned party that retains programmatic, as well as organizational connections to the movement. Accordingly, much remains to be learned about environmental and institutional factors shaping the nature of party-movement relationships.

Open Questions

There are a number of broader questions that have been raised by this study or, for reasons of feasibility, had to remain beyond the scope of it. The first question pertains to the life cycles of social movements and the role institutionalization plays in shaping party-movement relationships: how does the evolution of many movements from contentious mobilization to established SMOs influence the level of success they have in shaping parties and government policies? While this study has focused on parties in national contexts with at least partially institutionalized movements, it might not be necessary for movement activity to take these forms in order to, for instance, influence perceptions of issue ownership and party platforms. As discussed above, some radical right parties, for example, are surrounded by movement activities that take less institutionalized and more violent forms. These contentious activities are by their nature newsworthy and keep the related issues on the agenda and could help programmatically-associated parties bring their core issues to the forefront during electoral campaigns. Especially in the presence of digital echo chambers in which sympathizers can hear activists' messages, these movements might also be able to assign the status of a credible issue owner to a political party.

A second set of questions is particularly relevant given populism's recent rise across the world (Mudde & Kaltwasser 2012*b*). Several movement platform parties, including many in the radical right party family, as well as the new anti-establishment parties in Southern Europe, have combined their programmatic commitments with populist appeals and elements of charismatic leadership (see for instance Arter (2016) for the case of the radical right True Finns party). Some parties, like the 5 Star Movement in Italy, have gone so far in their

populist appeals as to make it hard to place these parties on traditional dimensions of political competition (Tronconi 2016). An investigation of how these parties combine populism, which claims to act on behalf of a "true people," and thus is a specific version of stressing civil society roots, with programmatic appeals promises worthwhile insights. Specific questions include how the ability to draw on populist appeals changes over the lifetime of these parties (Green parties, for instance, seem to have largely ceased the use of populist appeals, while the radical right retains them) and what kinds of programmatic appeals are compatible with populist strategies.

A third set of questions centers on the order of party-movement association. This project has focused on cases in which pre-existing movements spawned political parties. But it also highlighted that the German Pirates, for instance, experienced another movement from the far-left "docking" onto their party. Other examples of movement links occurring post-party foundation exist. Also in Germany, the Alternative for Germany party built connections to far-right movements, after originally having been founded by elite actors critical of European bailouts. In Great Britain, the Green Party's predecessor party, the People (later renamed Ecology) party, was founded comparatively early in 1973 and did not originate from the environmental movement (Rüdig 1990, p. 327),[5] but later found itself surrounded by a mobilized environmental movement. This raises question about differences between parties originating from a movement core and those that established connections to a movement later. Moreover, regarding the German Pirates, this study has also illustrated how an activist influx from a (in this case far-left) movement that does not share a movement platform party's issue focus can have destabilizing effects. But much about how move-

[5]Though see Dalton (1994, p. 220) regarding the role of Friends of the Earth in setting up the Green Party in Britain.

ments "dock onto" existing parties, the consequences, and the conditions under which they are successful in "capturing" that party remains to be learned.

A fourth set of questions on which much room for research remains is how the role and influence of movement actors might differ depending on external factors. For instance, do external shocks that place a movement platform party's core issue high on the agenda and create support for it beyond its core electorate lessen the influence of SMOs on the party, since the party is less dependent on the movement's implicit endorsements? The case of the Greens in the German state of Baden-Würtemberg provides some illustrative support for that hypothesis. The party managed to replace the Social Democrats as the state's second party in the the 2011 state elections, which took place less than three weeks after the Fukushima nuclear disaster. Subsequently the Greens have also been able to build on that success and even capture the most votes in the 2016 state election, cementing their mainstream party position. Thus, the factors external to party and movement behavior that lessen (or strengthen) movement influence and accordingly increase (or further limit) party elites' room for maneuver deserve further attention.

Beyond questions centering on social movements and the parties they spawn, many questions remain to be answered regarding the relationship of mainstream parties to social movements. For instance, under which conditions are mainstream parties receptive to movement demands? Can mainstream parties use their interactions with social movements to foreclose the space for a movement party?

Finally, two contemporary and related developments and their effects on party-movement relationships have so far received little attention. Technologi-

cal change and connected processes of denationalization (Castells 2012, Castells 2010) have allowed new forms of transnational activism and the Pirate parties, as discussed in chapter 3, have also formed strong transnational connections among each other. The role of this transnational activism in spawning and diffusing a political program and party model beyond national borders is so far under-explored. Moreover, does this electronic and transnational network imply new flexibility that allows activists to oscillate between party and movement forms and place their efforts in the countries and arenas in which the opportunity structure is particularly open to them?

Even in the absence of a transnational dimension, internet-driven activism regarding the founding and running of parties has already had significant impacts. Not only the largely electorally failed Pirate parties, but also the Italian 5 Star Movement, now the country's second largest party, originated in internet activism (Turner 2013). Questions about what factors determine a successful transition from web-based activism to the electoral arena thus remain to be answered.

In sum, this study demonstrates the importance of party-movement interactions for determining, among other outcomes, political competition, party models, and the quality of representation. Illuminating the role of participation in civil society in general, and social movements in particular, in shaping political parties promises to hold many insights about how and how well our political systems perform, especially in uncertain and contentious times.

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX: FIELDWORK DATA

This section summarizes the data collected during fieldwork in Germany and Sweden from 2013-2104, including interview data, material collected during participant observation, and a survey of Swedish Green party members.

Interview Data

For this project I conducted 74 semi-structured interviews with party elites in the Pirate and Green parties in Germany and Sweden, as well as with elites in the digital and environmental movements in those two countries. The interviews took place between December 2013 and June 2014. Table A.1 below provides an overview of how these interviews were distributed between the two countries and four party-movement dyads, as well as the rates at which interview requests led to an interview.

With respect to social movements, I identified all environmental and digital movement organizations active at the national level relying on secondary literature on these movements, as well as media coverage and snowball sampling. I then sent an interview request by mail or email asking the organization for an interview with the person most familiar with the organization's interactions with political parties. Within political parties I aimed at identifying persons who were experts on their party's interactions with movements because of their position within the party. I identified those persons who were in charge of running national campaigns, during which movements might seek to influence parties and the movements' mobilization resources become especially valuable.

Furthermore, I contacted party elites influential in terms of platform formulation, i.e. with direct influence on the parties' policies, and finally politicians who were potentially part of a personal network connecting movement and party because they came into the party with a movement background. I also asked respondents for further contacts they considered particularly knowledgable about party-movement interactions and followed up on those suggestions. In case I did not receive a reply to my interview request I followed up (often several times) via phone or email.

Table A.1: Interviews: Overview and Response Rates

Country	Party/Movement	Response Rate in %	Number of Interviews	Total number of Interviews (Response Rate)
Germany	Pirate Party	75.0	15	47 (56.6)
	Digital Movement	61.1	11	
	Green Party	29.6	8	
	Environmental Movement	72.2	13	
Sweden	Pirate Party	70.0	7	27 (56.3)
	Digital Movement	63.6	7	
	Green Party	52.9	9	
	Environmental Movement	25.0	4	

The interviews were guided by 10 prepared questions starting with a general question on movement-party interactions and then focusing on the same three arenas of potential interactions that guided the case selection (campaigns, platform formulation, elite overlap and networks; see below for the complete questionnaire). While the questionnaire standardized the interviews to some degree, their semi-structured nature allowed me to follow up and inquire about aspects

of party-movement interactions not foreseen when constructing the questionnaire.

Interviews were conducted in German and English and lasted about 38 minutes on average, with the shortest interview being 13 and the longest about 92 minutes long. A full list of interviews can be found in table A.2 below. Participants were assured that they would remain anonymous, but agreed that the interviews and quotes from them could be attributed to the respondents as representatives of their organizations (on the movement side) or a general description of their role within the party.

Table A.2: Conducted Interviews

Code	Date	Interview Partner	Mode
010101	12/17/13	Member of a State Parliament, Piratenpartei	face-to-face
010102	12/17/13	Former Member Federal Leadership, Piratenpartei	face-to-face
010103	12/18/13	Member of a State Parliament, Piratenpartei	face-to-face
010104	01/04/14	Member of a State Leadership, Piratenpartei	face-to-face
010105	01/04/14	Member Federal Leadership, Piratenpartei	face-to-face
010106	01/04/14	Member of a State Leadership, Piratenpartei	face-to-face
010107	01/04/14	Member of a State Parliament, Piratenpartei	face-to-face
010108	01/04/14	Topic Representative, Piratenpartei	face-to-face
010109	01/04/14	Member of a Town Council, Piratenpartei	face-to-face
010110	01/15/14	Issue Working Group, Piratenpartei	Skype
010111	01/22/14	Member of a State Parliament, Piratenpartei	face-to-face
010112	02/11/14	Topic Representative, Piratenpartei	face-to-face
010113	02/27/14	Member of a State Parliament, Piratenpartei	phone
010114	02/27/14	Former Member Federal Leadership, Piratenpartei	phone
010115	03/17/14	Member of a State Parliament, Piratenpartei	phone
010201	12/17/13	Wikimedia Deutschland e.V.	face-to-face
010202	12/19/13	Arbeitskreis Vorratsdatenspeicherung (Working Group on Data Retention)	face-to-face
010203	01/03/14	Arbeitskreis gegen Internetsperren und Zensur (Working Group against Internet Blocks and Censorship)	face-to-face
010204	01/10/14	Arbeitskreis gegen Internetsperren und Zensur (Working Group against Internet Blocks and Censorship)	phone
010205	01/21/14	Free Software Foundation Europe	face-to-face
010206	01/23/14	Humanistische Union (Humanist Union)	face-to-face
010207	01/27/14	Digitale Gesellschaft (Digital Society)	face-to-face
010208	02/03/14	Digitalcourage	face-to-face

010209	02/12/14	Open Knowledge Foundation Deutschland	face-to-face
010210	02/13/14	Netzpolitik.org	face-to-face
010211	02/24/14	Deutsche Vereinigung für Datenschutz (German Association for the Protection of Data Privacy)	face-to-face
010301	01/23/14	Federal Working Group, Bündnis 90/Die Grünen	face-to-face
010302	01/24/14	Stiftung Grünes Gedächtnis (Green Memory Archive)	face-to-face
010303	01/30/14	Former Member Federal Leadership, Bündnis 90/Die Grünen	face-to-face
010304	02/08/14	Member of Parliament, Bündnis 90/Die Grünen	face-to-face
010305	02/12/14	Staffer, Federal Level, Bündnis 90/Die Grünen	face-to-face
010306	02/13/14	Staffer, Federal Level, Bündnis 90/Die Grünen	face-to-face
010307	02/25/14	Former Member of Parliament, Bündnis 90/Die Grünen	phone
010308	03/04/14	Former Member of Parliament, Bündnis 90/Die Grünen	face-to-face
010401	12/18/13	Deutscher Naturschutzring (German League for Nature, Animal Protection and Environment)	face-to-face
010402	01/08/14	Local Anti-Nuclear Group	face-to-face
010403	01/13/14	Öko-Institut (Institute for Applied Ecology)	face-to-face
010404	01/21/14	Güne Liga (Green League)	face-to-face
010405	01/22/14	Bundesverband Bürgerinitiativen Umweltschutz e.V. (Federal Alliance of Citizens' Initiatives for Environmental Protection)	phone
010406	01/23/14	Naturschutzbund Deutschland (Nature And Biodiversity Conservation Union)	face-to-face
010407	01/27/14	Deutsche Umwelthilfe (German Environment Aid Association)	face-to-face
010408	01/28/14	Forum Ökologisch-Soziale Marktwirtschaft (Green Budget Germany)	face-to-face
010409	01/29/14	Schutzgemeinschaft Deutscher Wald (Protection of German Forests)	phone
010410	02/11/14	Bund für Umwelt und Naturschutz (Friends of the Earth Germany)	face-to-face
010411	02/12/14	Greenpeace	face-to-face
010412	02/17/14	.ausgestrahlt (-together against nuclear energy)	face-to-face
010413	02/20/14	campact	face-to-face
020101	04/04/14	Member of Party Board, Piratpartiet	face-to-face
020102	04/15/14	Member Party Leadership, Piratpartiet	face-to-face
020103	04/16/14	Ung Pirat (Youth Organization of Piratpartiet)	face-to-face
020104	05/03/14	Member of European Parliament, Piratpartiet	face-to-face

020105	05/05/14	Member of the Board, Piratpartiet	Skype
020106	05/29/14	Former Member of Valberedningen (Nominating Committee), Piratpartiet	face-to-face
020107	06/23/14	Former Member National Leadership, Piratpartiet	face-to-face
020201	04/16/14	Föreningen för Digitala Fri- och Rättigheter (Society for Digital Freedoms and Rights)	face-to-face
020202	04/17/14	Open Knowledge Foundation Sweden	face-to-face
020203	04/22/14	Online Activist	face-to-face
020204	04/24/14	Transparency International Sweden	face-to-face
020205	04/28/14	Online Activist	face-to-face
020206	05/05/14	Online Activist	face-to-face
020207	06/11/14	Wikimedia Sverige	face-to-face
020301	04/23/14	Member of a County Parliament, Miljöpartiet	face-to-face
020302	04/28/14	Member National Leadership, Miljöpartiet	face-to-face
020303	04/30/14	Member of Parliament, Miljöpartiet	face-to-face
020304	05/06/14	Member of Party Platform Commission, Miljöpartiet	face-to-face
020305	05/07/14	Member of Parliament, Miljöpartiet	face-to-face
020306	05/14/14	Cogito, Green Think Tank	face-to-face
020307	05/22/14	Former Party Leader, Miljöpartiet	face-to-face
020308	05/23/14	Former Party Leader, Miljöpartiet	face-to-face
020309	06/10/14	Member of Parliament, Miljöpartiet	face-to-face
020401	05/06/14	Naturskyddsföreningen (Swedish Society for Nature Conservation)	face-to-face
020402	05/08/14	Co-founder of KRAV	face-to-face
020403	06/13/14	Ekologiska Lantbrukarna (Organic Farmers' Association)	phone
020404	06/26/14	Världsnaturfonden WWF	face-to-face

The codes consist of three sets of two digits of which the first identifies the country (01=Germany; 02=Sweden), the second indicates the party or movement (01=Pirate Party, 02=Digital Movement, 03=Green Party, 04=Environmental Movement), and the third is a running count of interviews among that subset of actors.

All interviews were recorded and then transcribed. I used the software program Atlas.ti to code and analyze the interviews. I employed a combination of compatible coding methods (specifically structural, hypothesis, and causation coding), usually described as eclectic coding (Saldãna 2013, pp. 188ff.). Struc-

tural codes identify the passages in interviews that deal with theoretically relevant concepts, while hypothesis codes are derived from the theory and its hypotheses, coding the presence (or absence) of theoretical expected outcomes, behavior etc. (Saldãna 2013, pp. 84, 148). Causation codes code statements about causal beliefs of the respondents (Saldãna 2013, p. 163) and in this context analyze the causal beliefs of respondents regarding why their own organization or party, or others they were cooperating with, behave in one way or another. While some codes, including those based on hypotheses, were developed deductively I also remained attentive to unexpected observations and processes and coded these inductively.

Other Qualitative Data

For this project I spent 12 months (August 2013-July 2014) in Germany and Sweden to collect data on the Green and Pirate parties, as well as environmental and digital movements in those countries. Besides the interviews discussed above and the Green Party member survey in Sweden (see below), I collected a wide variety of documents on the activities of and interactions between these parties and movements. These documents range from movement organization publications to email newsletters of parties and NGOs and inform the observations and descriptions in this dissertation. Furthermore, I attended about 72 hours of party and movement organization events. Specifically, I observed four party conventions: two federal party conventions of the German Pirate Party in Bremen (11/30/2013-12/01/2013) and Bochum (01/04/2014-01/05/2014), one federal party convention of the German Green Party in Dresden (02/08/2014-02/09/2014), and one national-level party convention of the

Swedish Green Party in Gothenburg (04/30/2014). During the party conventions I observed debates, political speeches, events around the party conventions, collected materials, and had informal chats with delegates and other visitors. At two party conventions (at the German Pirate's convention in Bochum and German Green's convention in Dresden) I also conducted formal interviews (see table A.2 above).

Beyond the party conventions I also attended Almedalensveckan in Visby (07/01/2014-07/04/2014). Almedalensveckan is a yearly, week-long event at which NGOs and political parties converge in Visby on the Swedish island of Gotland. Every party represented in the Swedish national parliament hosts one day of events during the week, which culminate in the party leader's speech at the end of the day. Besides the parties, many NGOs and movement organizations also hold their own events during that week. At Almedalen I attended a variety of events including lectures and panel discussions hosted by environmental movement organizations, as well as several events of the Green Party and Åsa Romson's (one of Miljöpartiet's two co-leaders at the time) speech. Furthermore I had informal conversations with party and movement activists.

Swedish Green Party Member Survey

The survey was fielded through the Swedish Green Party via their national activist email list. The first email about the survey was sent on 06/23/2014 and the survey was open for two month, with the last response being completed on 08/07/2014. Over the course of that time the party sent two reminders regarding the survey. The Green Parties email list requires members to sign

up so that the email was sent to only 1570 of the about 14000 party members (Svenska Dagbladet 2014*b*). The survey resulted in 198 responses (a response rate of 12.6%) of which 146 are complete sets of responses to all questions on the survey (9.3%).

The survey started with questions on respondents' membership in Miljöpartiet and continued with items regarding potential movement activism. After these two blocs the questionnaire posed a number of questions regarding potential interactions between the respondents' party and movement activism (e.g. whether movement activism has led the respondent to become active in the party or vice versa), before a final block of questions on political ideology and socio-demographics concluded the survey. For the questionnaire, see appendix C below. Many questions in the survey, in particular with respect to party activities, were adapted from the first wave of the European Green Parties Membership Survey (European Green Parties Membership Survey 2017).

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX: ELITE INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

1. In which contexts do you cooperate with (political parties/movement organizations)?
2. Thinking back to the last electoral campaign, what were the (political parties/movement organizations) that you were in regular contact with?
   (a) Which of these (organizations/parties) would you say you cooperated most closely with during that campaign?
   (b) How did you cooperate with these (parties/organizations)?
3. Beyond the last electoral campaign, are there any routinized interactions (e.g. regular meetings) with (parties/organizations)?
   (a) Which (parties/organizations) and of what kind are these interactions?

For party leaders only:

4. Which external groups are especially influential in shaping the agenda setting for topics covered at party conventions?
   (a) How do these groups communicate their preferences to the party?
5. Which groups within the party take an especially active role in shaping the party's platform?
6. Where do you recruit candidates for political office?
7. What are the career options for your party members beyond the party itself?

8. When you would like to know how activists in the (name of the movement, e.g., environmental movement) feel about an issue, whom do you contact?

For movement organization leaders only:

9. Are there political parties you lobby especially hard regarding their policy platform and priorities?
10. How would you organize your lobbying efforts? What would you do?
11. How do you hire new employees for your organization? To which kinds of persons do you reach out?
12. Did you have any former employees of your organization who ran for office for a political party or went on to be employed by one?

    (a) For/By which?

13. When you would like to acquire information about a specific proposal that is in the legislative process, whom do you contact?

For both party and movement organization leaders:

14. What were major debates you had with (parties/organizations) that you cooperate closely with?
15. Can you think of someone else either in (your party/movement) or in (social movement organizations/the Green Party/the Pirate Party) I should be talking to regarding my research interests?

APPENDIX C

APPENDIX: PARTY MEMBER SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

1. In which year did you first join Miljöpartiet de gröna?
Open-ended responses

2. A number of reasons why people might join Miljöpartiet are listed below. Thinking back to your first decision to join, please indicate how important a role each reason played for you personally.

- I wanted to meet likeminded people
- I wanted to become politically active
- I wanted to help in the realisation of political aims that I support
- I wanted to influence the selection of candidates for political office
- I wanted to pursue a career in Miljöpartiet
- I wanted to support the party financially
- I expected that party membership would be advantageous for my career
- I wanted to learn more about Miljöpartiet
- I wanted to express my support for the political aims of Miljöpartiet

0=Not at all important to 4=very important

3. How do your experiences as a member so far relate to your initial expectations?
0=not at all lived up to my expectations to 3=fully lived up to my expectations

4. Political parties can pursue different goals which occasionally may be in conflict with each other. Please order the four goals below in the order in which Miljöpartiet should pursue them, with 1 being the highest priority and 4 the lowest.

- Maximse electoral support
- Promote its program and policies
- Gain governmental office
- Create a truly democratic political party

5. How much time do you devote to party activities in an average month?
Open-ended responses

6. Do you currently hold any office within the party (for example local party spokesperson) or any public office representing the party (for example local councillor)?
Yes/No

6a. At which level are you holding an office? PLEASE TICK ALL BOXES THAT APPLY
Two columns, one for party and one for public office:

- Local level
- Regional level
- National level
- European/international level

7. Have you taken part in any of the following political activities during the last four years? If yes, how often?

- Worked in voluntary organisations and associations
- Voted in elections
- Boycotted certain products
- Participated in public demonstrations

0=not at all to 3=frequently

8. Before your current membership in Miljpartiet, were you a member of another party (parties)?
Yes/No

8a. Which party/parties were you a member of?

- Socialdemokraterna
- Moderaterna
- Folkpartiet
- Centerpartiet
- Sverigedemokraterna

- Kristdemokraterna
- Vänsterpartiet
- Piratpartiet
- Feministiskt initiativ
- Other

8b. How often did you participate in organising party activities in that political party (parties)?
from 1=never to 4=often

9. Below is a list of various social movements. Have you ever been active in any of them (for example taken part in demonstrations, organised meetings etc.)? If yes, please indicate in which decades you have been active.
Columns for "never active" and each decade starting with the 1960s

- Student Movement
- Environmental Movement
- Animal-Rights movement
- Anti-nuclear Movement
- Peace Movement
- Feminist Movement
- HBTQ Movement
- Trade Union Movement
- Third-World Movement
- Globalization Movement
- Civil Rights Movement
- Anti-fascist Movement
- Other Movement

9a. Please name the other movement(s) that you have been active in.
Open-ended responses

10. A number of reasons why people might become active in a social movement are listed below. Thinking back to your first decision to become active, please indicate how important a role each reason played.

- I wanted to meet likeminded people
- I wanted to become politically active
- I wanted to help in the realisation of political aims that I support
- I wanted to pursue a career in the movement/non-governmental organisation sector
- I wanted to support the movement financially
- I wanted to learn more about the movement
- I wanted to express my support for the political aims of the movement

0=not at all important to 4=very important

11. How often did you participate in organising social movement activities (for example demonstrations or meetings)?
from 1=never to 4=often

12. Have you ever used the internet for political activism (for example for communicating with other activists, organising a protest or signing a petition)?
Yes/No

12a. Below you will find a list of political issues. Please tell us whether you have ever used the internet for political activism regarding these issues. PLEASE TICK AS MANY BOXES AS APPLY

- Environment
- Animal rights
- Nuclear Power
- Peace
- Women's rights
- HBTQ rights
- Employees' rights
- Globalisation
- Civil rights
- Direct democracy
- Transparency
- Other

12b. Please name the other issue(s) for which you used the internet as a tool for political activism.
Open-ended responses

13. Have you ever used one of the following tools to communicate with other activists? PLEASE TICK AS MANY BOXES AS APPLY

- email
- microblogging sites (for example twitter)
- social networks (for example Facebook, Google +)
- IRC client/chat
- blogs
- other

14. Have you ever been a member of (or regularly supported) any of the following organizations?

- Naturskyddsföreningen
- Fältbiologerna
- Greenpeace
- WWF
- Jordens vänner
- Sveriges ornitologiska förening
- Folkkampanjen mot kärnkraft
- Ekologiska Lantbrukarna
- other national environmental organisation
- other local environmental organisation

15. Below you will find a list of sources of information. Please tell us how often you make use of these sources to get political information.

- Radio
- TV
- Newspapers
- Websites of newspapers or news agencies
- Blogs

- Miljöpartiet (newsletters etc.)
- Non-governmental organisations (newsletters etc.)

from 0=never to 3=often

16. Would you say you spend more time being active in Miljöpartiet or more time being active in a social movement or non-governmental organisation (NGO) just mentioned?
1=More time for Miljöpartiet, 2=More time for the movements and NGOs, 3=About equal time for both

17. Did your activity in a social movement or an NGO lead to your decision to join Miljöpartiet (for example by being invited to join by a fellow movement activist)?
Yes/No

17a. Please describe shortly in the box below how your movement or NGO activity led to becoming a member of Miljöpartiet.
Open-ended answers

18. Did your membership in Miljöpartiet lead to your decision to become active in a movement or one of the NGOs mentioned above (for example by being encouraged to by a fellow party member)?
Yes/No

18a. Please describe shortly in the box below how your membership in Miljöpartiet led to becoming active in a social movement or NGO.
Open-ended answers

19. Has your activity in a social movement or NGO ever directly influenced your work within Miljöpartiet (for example by introducing a party convention motion based on movement demands)?
Yes/No

19a. Please describe shortly in the box below how your social movement or NGO activity has influenced your work within Miljöpartiet.
Open-ended answers

20. Has your membership in Miljöpartiet ever directly influenced your work within a social movement or NGO?
Yes/No

20a. Please describe shortly in the box below how your membership in Miljöpartiet has influenced your work within a social movement or NGO.
Open-ended answers

21. Did you ever perceive the goals or strategies of the movements or NGOs you are active in to be in conflict with those of Miljöpartiet?
Yes/No

21a. In those cases of conflict do you tend to side with the movements'/NGOs' view or the party's view?
1=The movements'/NGOs' view, 2=The party's view, 3=With both about equally

21b. Do you in those cases try to actively sway the party's position towards that of the movements/NGOs (for example by trying to convince fellow party members or by offering amendments to the party platform during party conferences)?
Yes/No

21c. Do you in those cases try to actively sway the movements'/NGOs' position towards that of Miljöpartiet (for example by trying to convince fellow movement activists of the party's position)?
Yes/No

21d. When you agree with the movements'/NGOs' views, do you actively try to sway the party's position towards that of the movements/NGOs (for example by trying to convince fellow party members or by offering amendments to the party platform during party conferences)?
Yes/No

21e. And what about when you agree with the party's view. Do you in those cases try to actively sway the movements'/NGOs' position towards that of Miljöpartiet (for example by trying to convince fellow movement activists of the party's position)?
Yes/No

22. Were the conflicts between Miljöpartiet and the movements/NGOs you are active in usually about strategies or political goals?
1=Strategies, 2=Political goals, 3=About equally about strategies and political goals, 4=Can't say

23. Looking at the list below, please tick a box next to the one thing you think should be the country's highest priority, the most important thing it should do. And which one do you think should be the country's next highest priority, the second most important thing it should do? PLEASE TICK ONE BOX IN EACH COLUMN
Two columns; one for highest and one for second highest priority

- Maintain the order in the nation

- Give people more say in government decisions
- Fight rising prices
- Protect freedom of speech
- Can't choose

24. On the whole, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in Sweden? And how about the way democracy works in the European Union?
PLEASE TICK ONE BOX IN EACH COLUMN
Two columns; one for Sweden, one for the European Union
from 0=not at all satisfied to 3=very satisfied

25. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement? People like me can have a real influence on politics if they are prepared to get involved
from 0=strongly disagree to 4=strongly agree

26. What is your gender?
Male/Female/Other

27. In which year were you born?
Open-ended responses

28. Are you currently in full-time education?
Yes/No

28a. How old were you when you stopped full-time education?
Open-ended responses

29. What is the highest level of education that you have achieved?

- I have no degree
- Grundkskola
- Gymnasium
- Högskola, grundnivå
- Högskola, avancerad nivå
- Annan eftergymnasial utbildning

30. Are you currently employed?
Yes/No

30a. Which of the following items best describes the work you did in your last job?/Which of the following items best describes the work you do?

- Professional or highly technical work (for example doctor, accountant, schoolteacher, university lecturer, social worker, systems analyst)
- Manager or Senior Administrator (for example company director, finance manager, personnel manager, senior sales manager, senior local government officer)
- Clerical work (for example clerk, secretary)
- Sales or Services (for example commercial traveller, shop assistant, nursery nurse, care assistant, paramedic)
- Small Business Owner (for example shop owner, small builder, farmer, restaurant owner)
- Foreman or Supervisor of Other Workers (for example building site foreman, supervisor of cleaning workers)
- Skilled Manual Work (for example plumber, electrician, fitter, train driver, cook, hairdresser)
- Semi-skilled or Unskilled Manual Work (for example machine operator, assembler, postman, waitress, cleaner, laborer, driver, bar-worker, call-centre worker),
- Other type of work (please specify)
- Never had a job

31. Which sector of the economy did you work in during your last job?/Which sector of the economy do you work in?

- Agriculture, Fishing, Hunting, Forestry
- Industry (for example Manufacturing, Mining, Construction, Utilities)
- Education
- Health, Social Services,
- Media (Newspaper, Radio, TV), Culture (Film, Theatre)
- Security Services (for example Police, Armed Forces, etc.)
- Other Public Administration (for example Local Authority, Civil Service)
- Banking, Finance, Insurance, Property
- NGOs, Parties
- Information Technology (IT)
- Other Services (for example retail trade, transport, catering, leisure, cleaning, etc.)
- Other (please specify)

32. Do you consider yourself as belonging to a particular religion?
Yes/No

32a. Which religion do you consider yourself to be belonging to?

- Roman-catholic church
- Svenska kyrkan
- Other Protestant Church
- Other Christian
- Jewish
- Buddhist
- Hindu
- Muslim
- Other

33. In politics people sometimes talk of left and right. On a scale from 0 representing the extreme left and 10 representing the extreme right, were would you place yourself?
Shifting scale from 0=extreme left to 10=extreme right

34. In politics people sometimes talk of libertarian and authoritarian orientations. Libertarian orientations are characterized by preferences for alternative politics (for example direct democracy), environmental protection, and liberal social policies such as same-sex marriage. Authoritarian orientations are characterized by preferences for traditional values, the defense of the national community and opposition regarding immigration. On a scale from 0 representing the most libertarian and 10 representing the most authoritarian orientation, were would you place yourself?
Shifting scale from 0=most libertarian to 10=most authoritarian

35. Please tell us which category below describes your household's total monthly income, after tax and compulsory deductions, from all sources? If you don't know the exact figure, please give an estimate.

- 0 - 14.999 kr
- 15.000 - 21.999 kr
- 22.000 - 28.999 kr
- 29.000 - 39.999 kr
- 40.000 or more

APPENDIX D

APPENDIX: PARTIES INCLUDED IN THE ANALYSES

Table D.1: Movement Platform Parties Included in the Descriptive Statistics (chapter 3) and Regression Analyses (chapter 5)

Country	Party Name	Party Family	Descriptive	Party-Level	Individual-Level
Austria	Die Grünen	Green	X	X	X
	BZÖ	radical right	X		X
	FPÖ	radical right	X		X
Belgium	ECOLO	Green	X	X	X
	Agalev/GROEN	Green	X	X	X
	Front National	radical right	X		X
	Vlaams Belang	radical right	X		X
	Vlaams Blok	radical right			X
	N-VA	Regionalist	X		X
	VU	Regionalist			X
Denmark	Socialistisk Folkeparti	Green	X	X	X
	Dansk Folkeparti	radical right	X		X
	Fremskridtspartiet	radical right			X
Finland	Vihreät – De Gröna	Green	X	X	X
	Perussuomalaiset (Finns)	radical right	X		X
	Svenska folkpartiet i Finland	Regionalist	X		X
France	Les Verts	Green			X
	Europe Écologie	Green	X	X	X
	Front National	radical right	X		X
	MNR	radical right			X
Germany	Die Grünen	Green	X	X	X
	NPD	radical right	X		X
	Republikaner	radical right			X
Great Britain	Green Party	Green	X	X	X
	UKIP	radical right	X		X
	Plaid Cymru	Regionalist	X		X
	SNP	Regionalist	X		X

Ireland	Green Party	Green	X	X	X
	Sinn Féin	Regionalist	X		X
Italy	Lega Nord	radical right	X		X
	Lega d'Azione Meridionale	Regionalist			X
	Federazione dei Verdi	Green		X	
	Union Valdôtaine	Regionalist			X
Luxembourg	Déi Gréng	Green	X	X	X
	GLEI	Green		X	X
	GAP	Green		X	X
	GAL	Green			X
Netherlands	Groen Links	Green	X	X	X
	PVV	radical right	X		X
Norway	Miljøpartiet De Grønne	Green	X	X	
	Sosialistisk Venstreparti	Green	X	X	
Spain	Los Verdes	Green			X
	Aralar	Regionalist			X
	BNG	Regionalist	X		X
	Chunta Aragonesista	Regionalist	X		X
	CiU	Regionalist	X		X
	Coalición Canaria	Regionalist	X		X
	Coalición Galega	Regionalist			X
	EA	Regionalist	X		X
	EAJ/PNV	Regionalist			X
	ERC	Regionalist			X
	Euskal Heritarrok	Regionalist			X
	Nafarroa Bai	Regionalist			X
	Nueva Canarias	Regionalist			X
	Partido Andalucista	Regionalist			X
	Partido Aragonés	Regionalist			X
	Unión Valenciana	Regionalist			X
Switzerland	Grüne/Les Vertes/Il Verdi	Green	X	X	
Sweden	Miljöpartiet	Green	X	X	X
	Sverigedemokraterna	radical right	X		X

APPENDIX E

APPENDIX: ADDITIONAL ANALYSES

Conceptual Differences Between Movement Platform and Niche Parties

Figure E.1: Conceptual Differences Between Movement Platform and Niche Parties

Movement Platform Party	Niche Party: Yes	Niche Party: No
Yes	Regionalist Parties, Pirate Parties, Green Parties, Radical Right Parties	Anti-austerity Parties (e.g., Podemos)
No	Communist Parties, Regionalist Parties without mobilized movements	Contemporary Mainstream Parties

Additional Analyses of Movement Activity by Party Preference

The data is from the first wave of the European Social Survey (NSD - Norwegian Centre for Research Data, Norway - Data Archive and distributor of ESS data for ESS ERIC 2002). Party preference was measured by polling whether citizens felt closer to one party "than all other parties," and which one. Participants and volunteers were identified using the question "For each of the voluntary organisations I will now mention, please use this card to tell me whether any of these things apply to you now or in the last 12 months, and, if so, which." The organizations were described as "an organisation for environmental protection,

peace or animal rights," and the relevant activities here were "Participated," and "Voluntary Work," respectively. Design weights were applied.

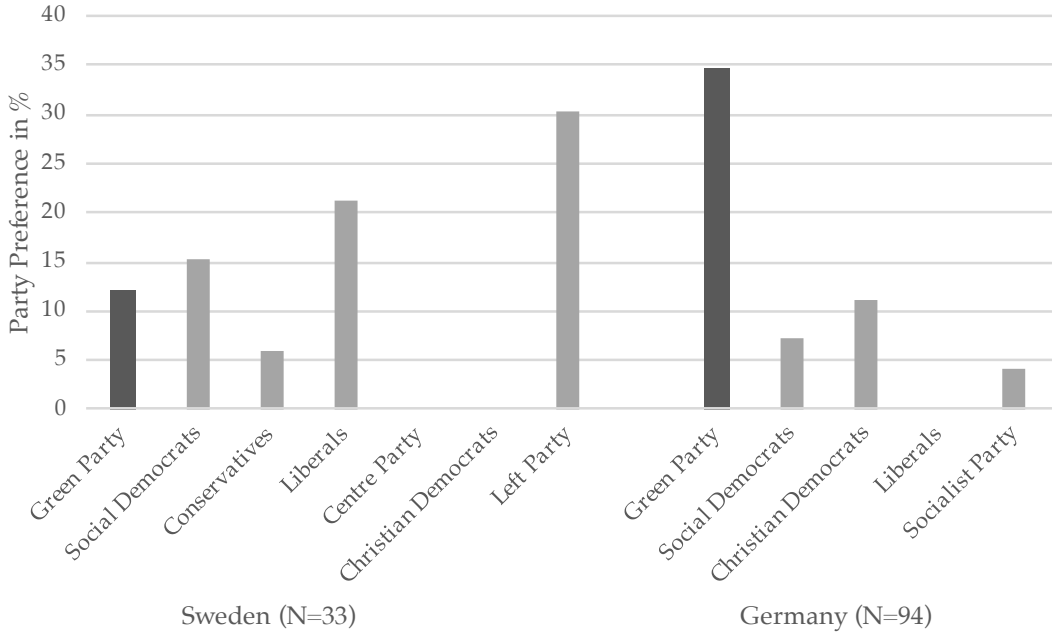


Figure E.2: Activist Participation in Environmental NGOs by Party Preference; Green parties highlighted; Source: ESS

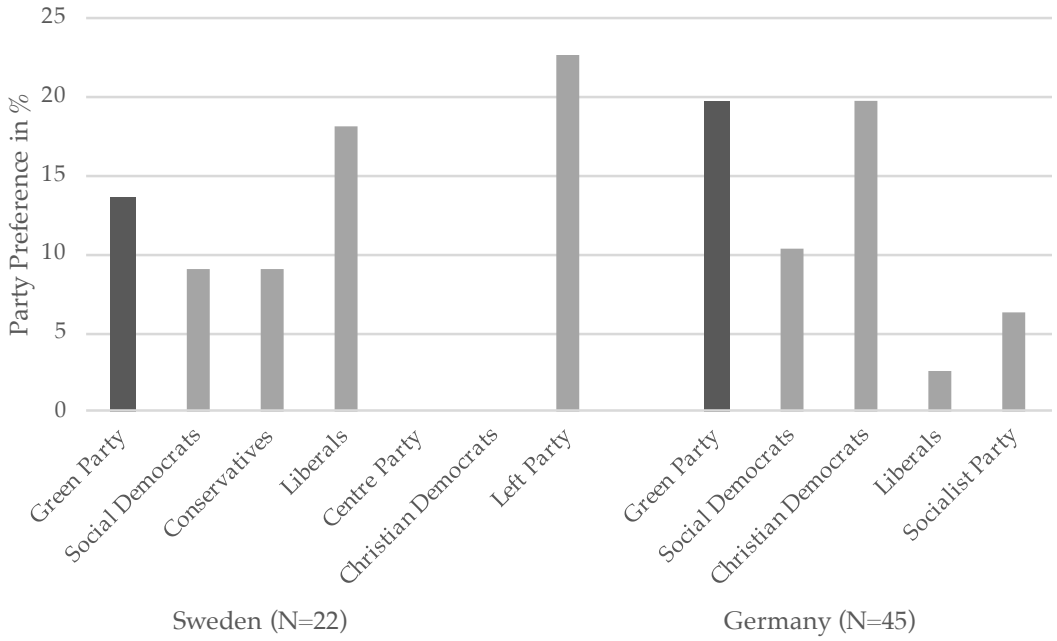


Figure E.3: Volunters of Environmental NGOs by Party Preference; Green parties highlighted; Source: ESS

Additional Micro-level Analyses

The main independent variable in the indvidual-level models in chapter 5 is based on responses to an item polling the most important problem facing a respondent's country. The item was open-ended and responses were coded into issue groups. Tables E.1, E.2, and E.3 summarize the issue groups that constitute the different issue concerns (concerns regarding the environment, immigration, regionalism, economy, welfare policy, democracy and good governance, law & order policies, foreign policy, and the European Union).

Table E.1: Issue Indices: Core Issues of Movement Platform Parties

Environmental Concerns	(Anti-)Immigrant Concerns	Regionalist Concerns
Environment (1999, 2009)	Politics of (im)migration (1999)	Regions (1999)
Energy (1999)	National way of life (2009)	Decentralization (2009)
Genetic foods (1999)	Immigration (2009)	Federalism/Devo./reg. autonomy (2009)
Climate change (2009)	National immigration policy (2009)	Linguistic groups (2009)
National energy policy (2009)	Politics of minorities/integr. (1999)	National language policy (2009)
Anti-growth economy (2009)	Labour Migration (2009)	Ethnic Minorities (2009)
Environmental Protection (2009)	Ethnic Minorities (2009)	Politics of minorities/integration (1999)
National Env. Policy (2009)		

Year of the wave in which a coding category was employed in parenthesis.

Table E.2: Issue Indices: Domestic Issues I

Economy	Welfare Policies	Democracy and Good Governance
Stock market (1999, 2009)	Pensions (1999, 2009)	Political Corruption (1999, 2009)
Budget of a community (1999)	Welfare policy (1999)	public administration (1999)
Business (1999, 2009)	Drugs (1999)	Inter- and Intraparty Conflicts (1999)
Competition Policy (1999)	Education (1999, 2009)	Human rights (1999)
Consumer policy (1999)	Science: medical research (1999)	Democracy (1999, 2009)
Debt (1999, 2009)	Health care (1999, 2009)	National political corruption (2009)
Euro (1999, 2009)	Housing (1999)	Freedom and Human Rights (2009)
Inflation (1999, 2009)	other social conflict (1999)	Civil rights (2009)
Taxes (1999, 2009)	Social justice (2009)	Equality before law (2009)
Trade (1999, 2009)	Welfare state (2009)	Sovereignty of the people (2009)
Unemployment (1999, 2009)	Nursing Service (2009)	Division of power (2009)
Wages (1999, 2009)	National health care policy (2009)	Separation of church and state (2009)
Other Economic topics (1999)	Social Housing (2009)	Political authority (2009)
Globalization (2009)	Child Care (2009)	Rule of law (2009)
Economic Conditions (2009)	National edu. policy (2009)	Dem. role of pol. parties (2009)

Interest Rates (2009)	Underprivileged minority grp. (2009)	Constitutionalism (2009)
Economic structure (2009)	Handicapped (2009)	Discussion abt. nat. constitution (2009)
Corporatism (2009)	Homosexuals (2009)	Exec. and adm. efficiency (2009)
Monopolies (2009)	Gay marriage (2009)	National political corruption (2009)
Incentives (2009)	non-econ. demographic grp. (2009)	
Productivity (2009)	Women (2009)	
Infrastructure (2009)	Abortion (2009)	
Creating Jobs (2009)	Old people (2009)	
Employment policies (2009)	Young people (2009)	
Bankruptcy of business (2009)		
Financial Crisis (2009)		
Gov. intervention in the econ. (2009)		
Publicly-owned industry (2009)		
Free enterprise capitalism (2009)		
Private property rights (2009)		
Labour groups (2009)		

Year of the wave in which a coding category was employed in parenthesis.

Table E.3: Issue indices: Domestic Issues II and International Issues

Law & Order Policies	EU	Foreign Policy
Crime prevention (1999, 2009)	EU evolution (1999)	Foreign policy (1999, 2009)
Terrorism (1999, 2009)	European elections: turnout (1999)	Defence/national security (1999, 2009)
Courts (1999, 2009)	Other EU election topic (1999)	Violent conflicts (1999)
Law & Order (2009)	European elections: var. topics (2009)	Kosovo (1999)
Crime Stories (2009)	EU institutions (1999)	Protectionism (2009)
	EU politics (1999)	peace/war (1999)
	European Integration (2009)	Foreign policy towards EE (2009)
	EU political corruption (2009)	Foreign policy towards Russia (2009)
	Competences of Commission (2009)	Foreign policy towards US (2009)
	Competences of Council (2009)	Imperialism (2009)
	Competences of other EU inst. (2009)	Military (2009)
	EU membership of EE countries (2009)	NATO (2009)
	EU membership of Balkan countries (2009)	Peace (2009)
	EU structural funds (2009)	Peace negotiations (2009)
	Single/Common market (2009)	Peace keeping (2009)

Year of the wave in which a coding category was employed in parenthesis.

Table E.4: Descriptive Statistics: Issue Concerns

		Greens	Radical Right	Regionalists
Programmatic Concerns				
Economy				
	no	6693	6769	3692
	yes	14163	13484	8531
Welfare Policy				
	no	15399	15962	9933
	yes	5457	4291	2290
Democracy/Governance				
	no	18896	18710	1110
	yes	1960	1543	1113
Law & Order				
	no	18791	18319	10830
	yes	2065	1934	1393
Foreign Policy				
	no	19712	19071	11598
	yes	1144	1182	625
EU				
	no	19947	19375	11862
	yes	909	878	361
Number of Countries		12	10	6
Number of Movement Platform Parties		15	16	22

Additional Macro-level Analyses

Definition of primary domestic energy supply: "Total primary energy domestic supply (sometimes referred to as energy use) is calculated by the International Energy Agency as production of fuels + inputs from other sources + imports - exports - international marine bunkers + stock changes. It includes coal, crude oil, natural gas liquids, refinery feedstocks, additives, petroleum products, gases, combustible renewables and waste, electricity and heat. Domestic supply differs from final consumption in that it does not take account of distribution losses. The supply and use of energy commodities are converted to Kg. oil equivalent using standard coefficients for each energy source." (OECD 2005)

Table E.5: OLS Estimates of the Effects of Government Participation, Substantive Gains, and Economic Growth on Electoral Success of Green Parties (without Danish and Norwegian "Green-Socialist" Parties)

Independent Variable	Coefficient (standard error)
Government Participation	-.23* (.10)
Substantive Gain Scale	-.11 (.12)
Government Participation*Substantive Gain Scale	.13* (.05)
Economic Growth	.04 (.07)
Economic Growth *Government Participation	-.002 (.04)
Lagged electoral success	.69* (.10)
Intercept	2.20* (.58)
R^2	.52
Mean Squared Error	1.93
Number of Observations	85

*p <.05 (two-tailed test); standard errors are robust-cluster standard errors

Table E.6: OLS Estimates of the Effects of Government Participation, Substantive Gains, Economic Growth, and the Electoral Threshold on Electoral Success of Green Parties

Independent Variable	Coefficient (standard error)
Government Participation	-.24* (.10)
Substantive Gain Scale	-.01 (.11)
Government Participation*Substantive Gain Scale	.12* (.06)
Economic Growth	-.01 (.08)
Economic Growth *Government Participation	-.01 (.04)
Electoral Threshold	-.04 (.04)
Lagged electoral success	.66* (.08)
Intercept	2.82* (.70)
R^2	.55
Mean Squared Error	2.17
Number of Observations	107

*p <.05 (two-tailed test); standard errors are robust-cluster standard errors

The effective thresholds are taken from the Political Data Handbook (Lane, McKay, & Newton 1997) and represent "estimates of the midpoint between no representation and full representation. Falling below the effective threshold entails being substantially underrepresented, but not necessarily unrepresented" (Lane, McKay, & Newton 1997, p. 117). They range from 1.0 (Netherlands) to 35.0 (United Kingdom).

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